



Brit.

green, p. g.

234^g

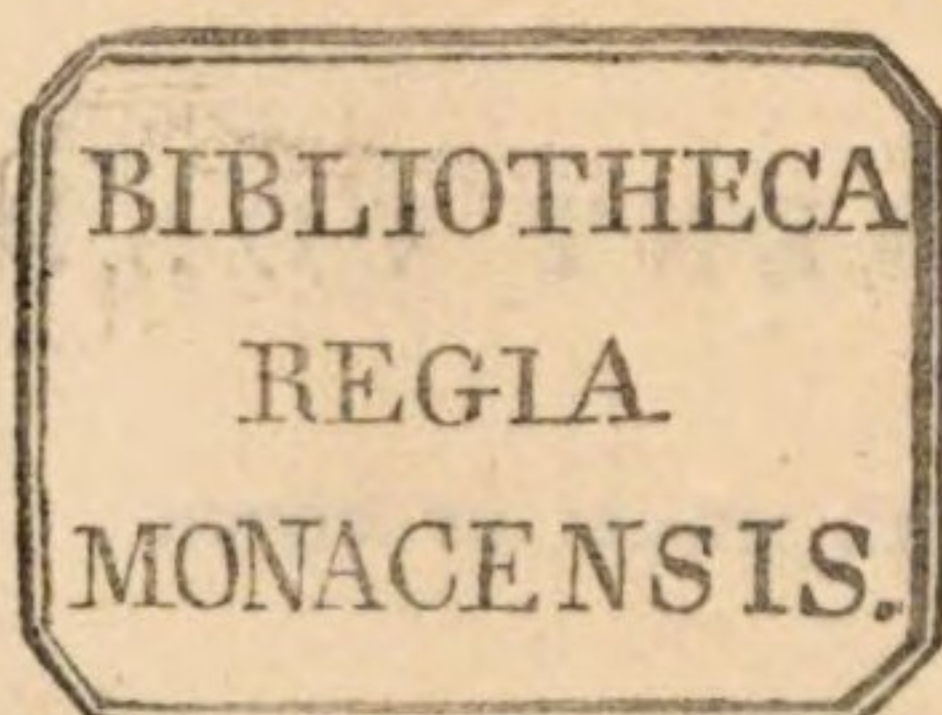
THE
WORKING CLASSES
OF
GREAT BRITAIN:
THEIR PRESENT CONDITION,
AND THE MEANS OF THEIR
IMPROVEMENT AND ELEVATION.

Prize Essay.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL G. GREEN, A.B.

LONDON:
JOHN SNOW, 60, PATERNOSTER-ROW;
AND ALL BOOKSELLERS.

1852.



SOME explanation is felt to be due as to the delay which has occurred in the Adjudication of this Prize. The whole of the MSS. received, having passed through the hands of Mr. Swaine, were immediately forwarded to the Rev. Thomas Spencer, by whom they were, after some time, returned only partially read, the state of that gentleman's health preventing his completion, at that period, of the duty he had kindly undertaken. The Essays were then transmitted to Mr. Edward Miall, with whom a further delay took place, as Mr. M. was fully occupied in preparing a very important course of lectures for delivery and publication, and he communicated his inability to examine the MSS. until the completion of that engagement. As soon as these circumstances allowed, Mr. Miall applied himself most assiduously to the duties of his office as Adjudicator. The Essays had then again to be submitted to Mr. Spencer; and immediately after the joint opinion of the three gentlemen had been obtained their decision was published. The Donor of the Prize did everything in his power to facilitate the Adjudication; and it will be seen, from this statement, that the delay which occurred was the result of circumstances wholly beyond his control.

PREFACE.

THE following announcements sufficiently explain the history of this work.

Early in 1849, the following advertisement appeared in several of the newspapers :—

IMPROVEMENT OF THE SOCIAL, INTELLECTUAL, AND MORAL CONDITION OF THE WORKING CLASSES.

A PRIZE OF FIFTY POUNDS IS HEREBY OFFERED FOR THE BEST
ESSAY ON THE ABOVE SUBJECT.

THE Essay will be expected to contain :—1. A brief, but comprehensive statement of the PRESENT CONDITION of the PEOPLE, physical, social, political, and moral, drawn from authentic sources, for the purpose of ascertaining how far it is necessary or important that their condition should be improved.

2. A review of the MEANS HITHERTO EMPLOYED for the ELEVATION and IMPROVEMENT of the WORKING CLASSES; with a fair and candid discussion of the adaptation or deficiency of those means; and if deficient, from whence that deficiency arises—whether from imperfect knowledge of the real condition of the people, or from want of due sympathy with them, or from the difficulty of the case, or from the unsuitableness or imperfection of the means themselves.

In the examination of these instrumentalities, especial reference is to be made to the Temperance Movement—its adaptation as a remedy for

the evils of intemperance; the difficulties presented to its progress by the numerous temptations to profligacy, such as Gin Shops, Beer Shops, Saloons, Musical Concerts, &c.; and the apathy, and even opposition, of avowed philanthropists and Christian Ministers and Professors; and an Inquiry into the Influence of the Total Abstinence principle to improve the physical, social, and moral condition of the Labouring portion of the population; also, Ragged Schools, Educational and Mechanics' Institutions, Sanitary Regulations, the Press, and the efforts now making to bring Religious Influence to bear more immediately and directly on the bulk of the population.

3rd, and chiefly. A WELL-DIGESTED SCHEME of PRACTICAL and PRACTICABLE REMEDIAL MEASURES.

The Rev. Thomas Spencer, Edward Miall, Esq., and Edward Swaine, Esq., were afterwards announced as the Adjudicators; and subsequently to the award it transpired that John Cassell, Esq., whose name has become so favourably known in connection with many of the popular movements of the age, was the proposer of the Essay.

Forty-eight Essays were transmitted; and, after various unavoidable delays, the Adjudicators, having completed their examination, made known their decision, to the following effect:—

DECISION OF THE ADJUDICATORS.

At the request of Mr. JOHN CASSELL, we, separately, perused with much care *forty-eight* Essays that were submitted for competition, and adjudged the prize to that written, as we have subsequently been informed, by Mr. S. G. GREEN, of Taunton. We wish this, our approval, to be understood as applying to the general principles advocated in this Essay, as well as to the spirit and style in which those principles are maintained, and not as pledging us fully to every opinion advanced. We have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the ability displayed in several of the other Essays, and think that the publication of some of them would be opportune and useful.

EDWARD SWAINE.

EDWARD MIALL.

Having been prevented by severe indisposition from examining, with the care to which they were entitled, the Essays submitted to me for

perusal ; and the anxiety of the respective writers for a decision rendering further delay unadvisable, especially as such delay would have produced no alteration in the result, inasmuch as two out of three of the adjudicators had already agreed in their choice of the best, I made such investigation as circumstances would permit. This investigation has led me to approve the selection which my colleagues have made; but with the same reservation, that I do not pledge myself to every opinion contained in Mr. Green's Essay.

THOMAS SPENCER.

The author deems it only further needful to request his readers to bear in mind the fact that the Essay was written twelve months ago. In the interval there has been much discussion of the topics to which it relates. Books, pamphlets, and newspaper articles have appeared ; fresh stores of information have been collected, and new social plans partially developed. To many of these, had he been writing now, he would have regarded it as necessary to advert. His conclusions, indeed, would remain unaffected by them, but some of his illustrations might have been different. As it is, no material alteration has been made in revision for the press, excepting that the earlier paragraphs of the fifth chapter have been re-written. A few notes have also been added, distinguished by the date 1850.

For the compilation of the Appendix the reader is indebted to the munificent donor of the Prize.

Taunton, June 14, 1850.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—INTRODUCTION.

	PAGE.
Novelty of the Subject — Universality of its discussion — <i>The Question</i> —Difficulties—Hopeful Signs.....	1

CHAPTER II.—PRINCIPLES.

A Working Class necessary — Subordination not inferiority — Essential equality and mutual helpfulness of all men—Sympathy the uniting bond of Society—The Scripture Rule.....	4
---	---

CHAPTER III.—PAST AND PRESENT.

Inconveniences of a transition state—Former relations of Employer and Employed—Condescension and gratitude ; oppression and servility — Modern changes — Mutual repulsion and strife — The only possible reconciliation	8
---	---

CHAPTER IV.—VARIED ASPECTS.

Modification necessary in general statements—The three divisions of our Working Classes	13
---	----

	PAGE.
1. <i>The Agricultural Labourer</i> — Specimen — The Oxfordshire peasant—His cottage—His family—His education and religion—His employers, work, wages—Hopelessness of his condition—Darker shades of the picture.....	13
2. <i>The Country-town Artizan</i> —Partial superiority to the peasant—Evils of his social position—Consequences—Want of mental cultivation — Irreligion — Vague aspiration — Frequent lapse into ragged wretchedness	18
3. <i>The Factory Worker</i> — Intellectual energy — Moral contrast with the peasantry—[Note on the comparative pauperism and crime of agricultural and manufacturing districts]—Separation from other classes—Antagonism to everything established—Yearning for a better state of society—Presages of hope—A darker view—Licentiousness and crime	20
Purposed understatement of the case—The task of reform both perilous and hopeful—One principle to start with	24

CHAPTER V.—EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

Recognition of mutual claims essential—The lesson needed by the Working Man—Mistakes of the Labourer and his Friends—Political Economy: what is it?—Principle of WAGES—A working man's explanation—Competition—The interests of masters and men identical—Remedies for confessed evils—The removal of impediments to a supply of work—The prevention of a redundancy of labourers—This latter the business of the working classes themselves.....	27
Moral duties connected with the wages-contract— <i>Considerateness</i> : Instances of its power— <i>Truthfulness</i> : Meanness in many trade customs—Alienating power of falsehood	32
Plans of partnership between employers and employed—Advantages of giving the latter a direct interest in the concern—[Note from Mill's "Political Economy"]	35
Subsidiary duties of employers and the rich—Help, not interference, required—ILLUSTRATIONS: <i>The labourer's home</i> —Difficulties	

of the landlord—Responsibilities of ownership—Economy of a liberal style of building—Appalling evils of bad building arrangements— <i>Recreation</i> : A visit to Victoria Park, in Manchester— <i>Almsgiving</i> : Mistakes of the charitable—How to relieve—Influence of woman—Casual methods of assistance—Incident from Sir T. F. Buxton's life— <i>Social intercourse</i> : What is not meant—[Note: The Duke of Buckingham's Fool]—What is intended—Advantages to the rising generation—Graceful accomplishments—A higher order of love—Difference between ourselves and Young England—[Note on Manner] ...	37
Divine purposes regarding human society—Permanence of the commercial system, if pervaded by spiritual life—Noble position of the leaders of industry.....	49

CHAPTER VI.—THE SCHOOL.

Frequency and fierceness of educational discussions—Kind of instruction to be given to the poor—Distinction between education and apprenticeship—Objections to liberal popular education anticipated—Monitorial systems inadequate—Means of providing instruction—Charity education a mistake—[Note by a working man]—Willingness of the poor to pay for their children's instruction—Not the business of the voluntary principle—Repugnance to government impost—Mingling of ranks in the school-room desirable—Graduation of school fees—ILLUSTRATION: <i>King's Somborne schools</i> —Circumstances of the parish—Number of children under instruction—Schools entirely self-supporting—Progress of the schools—Ages, rank, and payments of the children—Result—Popularity of the schools—Comparison with other localities—Principles of success—Difficulties, how met—[Note on the Plaistow public schools]—Application of the plan to towns—What should be taught—Consequences of associating rich and poor—Training of teachers—Normal schools—Erection of school-houses— <i>Religious instruction</i> : True idea of a religious education—
--

	PAGE.
[Note from Dr. Davidson on making the Bible a daily school-book] — Lancashire Association — Middle-class seminaries — First step toward the establishment of self-paying schools — Practical results to be expected	51
Instruction of the destitute—"Ragged" and industrial schools — Essential distinction between these and ordinary public schools	75
Intellectual recreations of the adult artizan—[Note from "Mary Barton"] — Mechanics' Institutions — Their fitting topics — [Note, the Poplar Working Men's Association]—Advantages of connecting with them public schools—[Note, the Liverpool Mechanics' Institution and Schools]—The People's College— Syllabus of a course—Education of women	77
Possible objections—Way to overcome them—Hope for education in England	83

CHAPTER VII.—THE CHURCH.

Ideal of the Christian Church—To what extent realized — Causes of partial failure—Need of a thorough exhibition of Divine truth in all its relations, social, commercial, political—Spirituality of mind—Exposition of Scripture in its entirety—Compatible with perfect simplicity—Difference between the profound and the abstruse—Truth of the EVANGELICAL system presupposed —Effect of thus presenting it; on the masses, on the Church itself—[Note on the want of intelligence among Christian people.]	84
Sources of the Church's power— <i>Conformity to the Christian standard of morals</i> —Transaction of business—[Note on a London shop]—Intercourse between employer and employed	94
<i>Unworldliness of constitution</i> —Church and State—Worldliness of Voluntary Churches—Meaning of the "Voluntary principle"—Financial Laws of the New Testament—To be at all hazards maintained—Arrangements of our places of worship —[Note on pews]—Support of ministers—[Note on methods of contribution].....	96

<i>Unsectarianism</i> —Our divisions a weakness and disgrace	99
<i>Sympathy with efforts for social improvement</i> —The Bible the charter, the Church the champion, of human rights—Duty of religious men to aid the cause of Progress—TEMPERANCE—Nature of the Total Abstainer's appeal—Admitted objections—Drunkenness an effect rather than a cause—The reformation superficial—Rivalship with the gospel—For the latter those Christians to blame who have refused their aid—Views of working men upon the subject—Claims of the movement upon the church—Other means of benefit—Lectures and classes on general subjects	101
Direct religious agencies— <i>The Sabbath-school</i> —Necessities of the system—Well-instructed Christian teachers essential—[Note on senior classes]—Auguries for the future—A Sunday walk through St. Giles's—Incidental benefits of the system.....	107
<i>Evangelism</i> —An essential means of usefulness	109
<i>The Ragged Church</i> —Quotation and Note respecting the Ragged Kirk at Aberdeen—Important distinction between this and ordinary religious efforts	110
Lack of power in the Church a universal admission—Hope for the future—Application of the words of Demosthenes	113

CHAPTER VIII.—THE PRESS.

Influence of the Press over the working classes—How exercised—Mr. Oakey's statistics	115
Contrast in adaptation between religious and infidel literature—The former should not be exclusive in its tone—Denominational literature not the thing required—[Note on the popular estimate of religious parties]—Possibility of treating ordinary subjects religiously—[Note : Binney's Lecture on Buxton].....	116
Style of addressing the working classes—Thoughts of the wise in the words of the simple—Condescension to be avoided—[Note on Mr. Joseph Barker]—No distinctive "working man's style"	120

Form of address— <i>The Tract</i> —What tracts ought to be— <i>The Cheap Periodical</i> —A mercantile hint—[Note on “The Happy Home”]— <i>The Newspaper</i> —Pretensions and failures—What a religious newspaper for the working classes must be—Its political principles—Its comparative share in the approaching triumphs of freedom.....	121
Aversion of the people to religious teaching not unconquerable.....	126

CHAPTER IX.—HINTS TO WORKING PEOPLE.

Duties of working people to themselves — The true man the conqueror of circumstances.....	127
FRUGALITY—Means of economising— <i>Friendly and Insurance Societies</i> —Their principle—Cautions—Specimen, the Western Provident Association—Examples of the Benefits offered—[Note: “A penny a day”]— <i>Savings’ Banks</i> —Comparison with Friendly Societies—Independence in times of depressed trade — Legitimate combination — The Leicester Framework Knitters’ Society—Savings’ banks the means of securing the same end—Strikes and turns-out	128
Political advantages of frugality and union—“Freedom and forty shillings a year for nineteen pounds”—Duties of the enfranchised	136
Real power of the people—Self-reliance—Religion—The Bible the poor man’s book—No patent plan offered for social regeneration — The kingdom of God within — The HOPE OF THE WORLD	137

APPENDIX.

	PAGE.
Statistics of Labour and Remuneration.....	142
Slop-Tailoring Trade of London	142
The Spitalfields Weavers.....	149
The Hucksters of London.....	149
The Baked-Potato Trade.....	150
The Venders of Fried Fish	150
Watercress Dealers.....	151
The Sheep's-Trotter Venders	151
The Lucifer-Match Trade.....	151
Textile Manufactures.....	152
The Factory System.....	152
Woollen Hosiery.....	152
Silk Hosiery	153
The Norwich Weavers.....	153
The Worsted and Stuff Manufacture.....	155
Agricultural Labourers	155
Other Classes	156
Consequences of Insufficient Remuneration	157
The Desecration of the Sabbath.....	157
Discontent and Despair	158
Theft and Immorality.....	159
Irregularity in the Supply of Labour.....	161
Non-necessity of Intoxicating Drinks to support Strength under Severe Toil.....	164
Habits of Drunkenness enforced by Trade Regulations	166
Intemperance, Poverty, and Crime	169
The Truck System.....	172
The Low London Lodging-Houses.....	173
Juvenile Depravity.....	176
Causes of Juvenile Depravity	177
The Reclamation of Criminals	179

ERRATUM.

Page 158, 24th line, for "kind of political operative," read "knot of political operatives."

THE WORKING CLASSES

OF

GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the misfortune of some great questions to be overwhelmed with discussion almost at the moment of their proposal. Most subjects make their way gradually into popular debate, and the attention of men in general is not turned to them until a stock of well-proved theory and accurate observation is ready to assist the decision. It is best that it should be so. Even a public meeting, without a committee to digest the business beforehand, will inevitably be thrown into disorder. And when the whole body of thinkers, talkers, and writers in our land engage in sudden unpremeditated discussion on a complicated social question, the crudeness and confusion that result are lamentable. The completeness and glory of the late triumph of Free-trade are in a great measure attributable to the fact, that seventy years of quiet thought and spreading conviction had passed since the recluse of Kirkaldy meditated his "Wealth of Nations." It is true that in every subject, however gradual its development, there will be a stage of transition from the deliberation of the

few to the discussion of the many. In this stage lies its greatest danger. The question, in passing through it, is almost sure to become entangled with prejudices and falsehoods. The less sudden the transition, the greater likelihood will there be of wisdom throughout the debate, and of final satisfactory settlement.

The social condition of the working classes is a subject the discussion of which, just now, has to contend with special disadvantage. It is at once a new question, and a question of universal interest. Till recently, few considered it at all; now, all are summoned to give their opinion. History, down to our own times, had passed it silently by; it has at once become a principal theme of the historian. It calls the divine from his theological studies, the philosopher from his metaphysical speculations, the politician from his party warfare. It gives a tone to our most refined and to our most popular literature. It is the favourite theme of novelist and poet. The public lecturer finds no topic so attractive, and the strolling demagogue none so profitable. Nay, it has become the pet subject of fashion, and has spread from St. Stephen's and the clubs to Almack's and the boudoirs. In a word, from being no question at all, it has become the question of the age.

Kindred subjects have, no doubt, been discussed before. National education, the extension of political rights, poor-laws, the regulation of labour, with similar matters, have not seldom been topics of parliamentary and unparliamentary debate. Vague enough, for the most part, has been their treatment; unprofitable enough their decision! And for a very simple reason. They have been regarded separately, and argued on the grounds of ever-shifting expediency. Few of the disputants have had patience to explore the principles on which the right settlement of such problems must ultimately rest, or even to raise the comprehensive question that includes them all. This question, however, at length has been fairly proposed. Thinking men have learned that nothing effective will ever be done, by legislation or otherwise, for the mass of

our people, excepting as it is based upon a calm and clear resolution of the inquiries: What is the rightful social position of the working classes, and the relation which other classes of the community sustain to them? What are their mutual duties, their mutual claims; and by what order of means must we seek that these claims may be satisfied, and these duties fulfilled?

It is no doubt a cheering sign that there is this wide, albeit sudden, interest in a matter so truly momentous. No wise man could desire its discussion to be one whit less general or earnest. It becomes us, however, strongly to bear in mind the evils incident to so much good, and sedulously to guard against them. Clearness of view and candour of spirit were never more needed, never more difficult to maintain. The question, on every side, allies itself with some point of religious controversy or party politics; and indeed there would be scanty hope of ever seeing it settled, were it not that so many of the angriest disputants, on either side, give hopeful signs of readiness to hold their favourite dogmas in abeyance for a while, from regard to the higher claims of humanity and truth.

CHAPTER II.

PRINCIPLES.

THAT there must be a working class, in distinction from the class of employers and capitalists, I assume as an established truth. I hold no controversy now with the Socialist or Communist, though on a fitting occasion I might not decline the encounter. Perhaps something will have been done towards superseding their theories, if it is but proved that the present constitution of society, fairly understood and developed, includes all the great principles of charity, brotherhood, and mutual help.

First of all, it is requisite to get a distinct view of the grounds upon which the arrangement of society rests. False or confused notions as to these occasion the gravest errors. The mere fact, that "the poor shall never cease out of the land," tells very little. Neither does subordination, of itself, imply subjection. It is easy, but fallacious, to argue, that the man set in the order of Providence to serve his fellow man, is therefore a natural inferior. Reason and religion alike condemn the superficial inference. The sole end for which men are arranged in ranks and classes, is that one may *help* another. The dependence throughout is mutual; the master on the man, as much as the man on the master. And

it is certain, that were the relation but properly understood, there would be no place for either tyranny or sullenness, condescension or servility. Both would meet on equal terms, as mutually helpful brethren. Neither would be ashamed of his dependence. Commands would be obeyed without degradation, and therefore given without insolence.*

Such a state of feeling, it is true, would spring from higher and better principles than now are recognised. For these principles, however, we have not far to seek. They are plainly declared in the New Testament. The Gospel places foremost among its truths the essential equality of all men. It at once enjoins and creates a sympathy between men in every circumstance of life. It speaks to man as a man, regardless of his trappings or his rags; tells him that the post he occupies is appointed him by God, that, with all his brethren, he may bear a part in the same great work; and commands him, if a master, to give to his servant that which is just and equal, or, if a servant, not to despise his master, because he is a brother. Regarded in this light, the hardest and the meanest toil has no power really to degrade. The loving wife performs for her sick husband menial offices at which the hireling would revolt; yet she is not humiliated, for to her heart they are exalted and glorified by the love that prompts them. Such a comparison, I know, is not altogether applicable to any other relation, and yet it is but the most exquisite illustration of a principle which every day proves true—that no action or employment inspired by sympathy, or indeed by any of the higher affections, can ever be really mean. With such a motive, submission becomes as noble a thing as command, and obedience itself is perfect freedom.

This sympathy Christianity presents as the uniting bond of society. And experience tells us, in decisive tones, that no other bond will suffice. The wisest legislative enactments,

* The American appellation of "help" sometimes excites a smile; but it is only the somewhat grotesque expression of a most important truth.

the profoundest political economics, will alike fail to regenerate the social system. They will, indeed, serve to manifest, and may possibly help to develop, the spirit of brotherhood in the progressive stages of its diffusion ; but without that spirit the best of them will be empty and dead. It is impossible so to mechanise the various currents of men's selfishness, as to produce the effects of disinterested good-will. Influences not calculated on will for ever mar and mock the arrangement. The world's maxim will never do. "Every one for himself," and God will be for none. A certain balance, it is true, may be attained by the stress of opposite forces, but the equilibrium will be unstable at the best. If, indeed, the social system were nothing more than a complicated and curious engine, the only thing needed for its regulation would be for astute politicians to construct the machinery and to oil the wheels ; but since the free wills, and warm hearts, and hot heads of men have to do with the matter, the harmony can only be preserved by the application of a spiritual force. And in everlasting antagonism to the above-quoted proverb of the world, stands the great command of God, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Let each class of the community, then, understand its true position. Let the working man know that his place in society is as dignified, and his help to society as real, as those of the master whom he serves. Let employer and employed both learn that their mutual duties are to be performed as by brother serving brother, that their interest is truly one, that each only renders the assistance which the other needs, that to command is no immunity, and to obey no hardship. Both will be the better for the conviction, and will perform their respective duties in a manlier spirit. At least the objection sometimes urged against the mental elevation of the labourer, that it makes him overwise, will be seen to confute itself ; for, surely, the wiser a man is the more likelihood is there of his falling in cheerfully with the plans of the all-wise God.

Such are the principles which, in succeeding pages, it will be my attempt to follow into some of their applications. The

mistakes which have hitherto so greatly frustrated their development will first require to be pointed out ; then the results of these mistakes in the present condition of the working classes ; and, finally, it will be needful to suggest the means appropriate to remedy existing evils, as well as to trace, even in the present state of things, the auguries of a better day.

CHAPTER III.

PAST AND PRESENT.

A FALSE system, during the period of its undisputed reign, is attended by far less inconvenience than the state of transition to a better order of things. A country is more tranquil, and on the whole more contented, under a despotism than during a revolution. This is a fact on which the short-sighted, ease-loving world is very prone to insist, as though present quietness were a better thing than freedom, or truth, or life ! That the fact is even as the world represents, we readily grant. The West Indian slave was lighter of heart twenty years ago than the emancipated negro is to-day ; France was more tranquil in the middle of the eighteenth century than amid these struggling aspirations of the nineteenth ; the working classes of England were much less troublesome before they suspected themselves to be freemen, or while at least they kept to themselves the unwelcome truth, than in these days of Chartism and discontent. What then ? It is through "much tribulation" that men must always "enter the kingdom of heaven ;" but this strife is surely better than slothful rest in the outer kingdom of darkness ! The confusion and the conflict are not the dawn of the coming, but the relic of the parting time. The shorter the struggle, indeed, the better ; but sometimes it must of necessity be prolonged. Ages of mistake and wrong are not to be effaced by the penitent efforts of a single day, or

a single generation. The sins of the fathers are visited, in perplexity and strife, upon the children. Our consolation must be, that the children's children may hope for peace again, and on a sure foundation.

The relative position of employer and employed is a subject on which there was once no question. Two generations ago scarcely anything could be more definitely settled. The one had all the rights, the other all the duties. Subordination was enjoined, not as the manly dictate of reason and religion, but as the surrender of both to the authority of the world's masters. Feudalism was but half abolished; its terms were gone, but its spirit remained. Protestantism was but half understood; it was, as yet, little more than the protest of one form of spiritual tyranny against another. The utter ignorance of the common people was a necessary result of their degradation. Their masters said that instruction would unfit them for the station in which they were placed. It was perfectly true. For their station was of man's device, not of God's ordination; ignorance, therefore, was its only security. And because they were ignorant, they were content. They no more resisted the right of their employers to control them, soul and body, than the ox questions the justice of his yoke.* No doubt this absolute rule of the master was often administered with sincere benevolence. Nay, it was easier to manifest kindness than it might be under a system of greater equality. As no claim was made, there was nothing in the bestowment of a favour to abate the complacency of the donor, or to lessen the gratitude of the

* Among the men who would bid us back to this, who would have reckoned CARLYLE? Yet it is even so. Sneering sardonically at the doctrine of equal human rights, he asks, "Are we to look for a time when the *horses* also are to be emancipated?" and parodies the most sacred of human appeals by the mocking words, "Am I not a horse, and a *half*-brother?" True, he is talking of "West Indian blacks" and "Irish whites;" but if his reasoning is worth anything, it will bear to be imported across the Atlantic and the Irish Channel!

Who would not smile, if such a man there be?

Who would not weep, if ATTICUS were he?—1850.

recipient. Almsgiving then was pleasant work, as grateful to the benefactor's vanity as it was needful to his state. The distribution of charity at the park-gate makes a beautiful and winning picture. The intercourse of different ranks, too, was much more frequent and more cordial than at the present day. For each party was sure of his position. The nobleman might play at cricket with the labourer without any compromise of dignity; for he was quite certain that, the moment the game was over, the respective positions of lord and serf would be at once resumed. It is not so much the pride of station as the fear of encroachment that creates reserve between different classes of society. The present Emperor of Russia is said to be familiar even to jocoseness with the humblest of his attendants. He can afford to be so. Let it ever be remembered that the hearty kindness and cheerful reverence which constitute the charm in so many pictures of old English time, are but the sunny side of a system whose reverse is dark and degrading. Oppression, in its turn, was as natural as benevolence. The humble acceptance of the bounty prepared for silent submission to the despotism. Both kept alive the pauper spirit; and it is hard to say which most truly debased the man. Hence, it is a fact, that these days of "Old England," the days of maypoles and cricketings, of almsgiving and condescension, of implicit loyalty and unquestioning faith, were days also of ignorance, vice, and squalid wretchedness, to which our own times, in their foulest haunts and darkest scenes, can scarcely afford a parallel.

A considerable change has taken place both ways. The growth of a manufacturing population, the spread of political discussion, and the teachings of a free religion, have aroused in the working classes a spirit of self-respect, and led them manfully to assert their independence. The immediate effect, it is acknowledged, is in some respects injurious. Independence, newly created, will inevitably assume the form of defiance. The defender of a disputed right will be suspicious, acrimonious, hostile. Impatient of his past restraint, he spurns all control whatever. Having learned to despise condescen-

sion, he distrusts kindness, and asks only for his due. The master, on the other hand, is uneasy. He cannot adapt himself to his new position. It greatly lowers his self-complacency to find that what he mistook for benevolence was bare justice. He cannot endure to yield as a right that which as a favour he would most willingly have bestowed. He would make an admirable patron, but is only an indifferent fellow-man. The airs of equality are repulsive to his taste. The suspicion and hostility of the subordinate classes he repays with interest. Two parties are thus marshalled against each other, both only exasperated that they are in fact mutually dependent, and striving to cover as best they may the consciousness of this dependence, in sullen thanklessness or supercilious neglect.

It will not be doubted, I think, that this is, to a very great extent, the relative position of employers and employed in England at the present day, and that the causes are such as have been assigned. Our state is one of transition. The age of instinct has passed away, and that of reason has scarcely come. Blind submission has not yet been replaced by rational subordination. The master does not understand the true foundation of authority, nor does the workman discern the essential dignity of obedience. The former sighs often in spirit for the tranquil past, when the serf was as quietly submissive as though God had not in truth created all men of one blood; and as irrationally does the latter long for a good time coming when all shall rule and none obey.

Happily the aspiration of neither will be fulfilled. The reconciliation of classes will be accomplished in another way. It will come to pass when the workman, with clear and enlightened view, shall recognise in his subordinate position as true an appointment of Providence as in his equal nature, and understand that it affords as wide an opportunity as the station of the wealthiest and proudest for a manful, earnest life; when the employer, too, remembers that he is but a trustee of the interests of his humbler brother-man, and as religiously bound to render as entitled to ask for help. The struggles

of both will have ended in an honourable peace. Each, in independent willinghood,* will render to the other that aid which never more in Britain will be accorded to the demands of mere authority; and, if it may not be added that the poor will then never envy the rich, nor strive to reach their height, we may, at least, foresee that the emulation will be of a noble kind—not the envious grasping after some shadowy right withheld, but the free effort to gain a prize held out without reserve or stint to all who show themselves worthy. The poor will be respectful to others, because they will respect themselves; the descendants of nobles may meet the peasant, even on the cricket-ground again, without any fear of vulgar familiarity; and, if happy throngs no longer surround the maypole and the bonfire, in the careless glee of olden time, it will be because the cheerfulness finds a more congenial vent in the mechanics' institution, or the village orchestra.

There must, I know, be some social and political changes before this comes to pass. The framework cast to embody the spirit of servility will not exactly accommodate itself to the spirit of freedom; but the greatest change must still be in the views and feelings of the individuals of whom society consists. New principles will irresistibly fashion to themselves new forms. Let them only be earnestly believed, and every man who holds them strive to work them out in his own way.

* We must not lose this word, albeit not in Johnson. It is a creation of the age.

CHAPTER IV.

VARIED ASPECTS.

EVERY general statement with respect to our working classes is manifestly open to considerable qualification. In every locality, nay, almost in every factory and on every farm, the leading features of their condition are modified by an immeasurable variety of influence. Some distinctions are so marked, that it will be needful to dwell upon them a little in order to avoid the confusion that would arise if, without such specification, the working classes of England were spoken of as a whole.

The agricultural labourer, the country-town artizan, and the factory-worker, may be regarded as types, under one or other of which the great majority of these classes may be ranked.

I.

Three hours, or less, by railway and coach, will transport us from London into the heart of a rural district lying between Oxfordshire and Bucks. A very beautiful country it is, abounding in natural loveliness—luxuriant valleys, gently-undulating hills, straggling beech-woods, and, in the distance, those noble Chilterns! How picturesque that cottage! It is high day, the tenant is probably at his noon-tide meal; let us strike into this footpath across the field and see. We were not

mistaken. There he is, seated with his wife at the table, around which also five children stand, all busily engaged. The baby lies snugly asleep in the ancestral arm-chair, the only furniture of any worth that a hasty glance around the apartment descries. It is just the scene that poets have pictured, and truly in perspective it is winning and beautiful. But our business is to get at the heart of it; and, as we pursue our purpose, the rising admiration yields to pity, dismay, indignation, almost horror! We will tell, as concisely as we can, the tale which our inquiries gradually elicit. The man has plenty of time to relate it; his week's work is done, though it is only Thursday. When he can get *full* employment, he makes nine shillings a week, for the support of eight persons. No wonder, then, at their emaciated looks; or at the wolfish gaze of those little ones, as the careful mother just now apportioned that quarter of a quartern loaf! Cottage rent-free, we suppose? No, no; fifteen pence every Monday to the master, or out he must go; "and you see, sir, it is not every labourer who has a cottage like this." This lower apartment, indeed, is roomy; there is little risk of being stifled—though would the window were larger—but surely there is more than one sleeping-room up that ladder? *No, there is not*; and the eldest boy, away now at work, is eighteen; and the eldest girl, a lace-maker, is sixteen; and they, and their six brothers and sisters, and father and mother, herd all together in the same apartment. Reluctantly, the poor man permits us to ascend. There is one decent stump bedstead, a heap of rags on the floor, a bit of faded carpet, and against the wall a sixpenny looking-glass. This is all the furniture. Not a curtain, not a wash-stand, not a chair. There was once a chest of drawers, companion to the old-fashioned settle below, but that has been for two months at the pawnshop. "It is not likely it will ever stand here again, sir; but I did not like to sell it *outright*." It was the purchase of an honest, hard-working grandfather, out of the savings of years—a relic to the grandson of miraculous times, when poor men could buy such things!

The eldest boy gets eighteenpence a week regularly, and

part of his food; the daughter one and ninepence, or thereabouts, two-thirds of which she is compelled by the lace merchant to take out in tea and sugar, which, as best she can, she must exchange for bread. The thread, too, she must buy of her employer, at a profit to him of *nine hundred* per cent.* And when the lace trade fails, or some peasant lad as poor as herself takes her for better or worse, what is she fit for, poor girl? She knows nothing of her needle, nothing of cookery, nothing of housework; her sedentary toil has impaired her strength, and the almost certain prospect for her is vexation, and for her husband, disappointment, the beershop, and ruin. But, oh! the perilous chance that a lot even worse may befall the weary girl! Licentiousness prevails around most fearfully. The spoiler has marked many a cottage home, and will this escape? The towers of Oxford are fatally near. And if temptation comes, will not every circumstance lend tremendous power to its worst suggestions?

But has not the Bible taught its holy lessons? There lies the sacred book, a copy, as it seems, from the National School. Who can read it? Not the father or mother; even the Sunday-school had not reached their district thirty years ago, and all other schools for the poor were voted fanatic and absurd. Not the eldest boy or girl; the former was put to "bird-starving" at six years old, and the latter to the lace-pillow at five. But one of these youngsters can? Yes; two. Let us hear this morning's school lesson:—"O, foolish, G-a, ga—l-a, la—t-i, shi—a-n-s, ans—Galatians, who, hath, b-e, be—w-i-t-c-h, witch—e-d, ed—bewitched, you." But what a chant! and with what a vacant eye the poor little fellow stares down upon the mysterious page! The mother notices our wondering, pitying look, and hastens to explain the matter by saying that three of the children go to school, by turns, a week a-piece, as the penny payments can only be afforded for one at a time. The mystery is not now quite so difficult to solve, especially when further questioning elicits the fact, that even this at-

* Three-pennyworth for half-a-crown!

tendance is irregular, and is kept up only with an eye to Christmas blankets.

On Sundays the family go to church; at least, when their clothes are whole. How surprised the poor man looked when we asked him, as if there could be any doubt! True, there is a little Methodist chapel at a corner of the village; but woe to any of the squire's tenants, or of their labourers, who should venture across its threshold! "We hear their people talk sometimes about salvation, conversion, and that like; but we don't understand it, and suppose the parson and squire know best." Does the squire ever come to the cottage? The SQUIRE! It is evident we are suspected, from that moment, of partial insanity. The parson, then? Ah! there is a village tradition of a rector who did not disdain to cross the lowly threshold, and take the poor man by the hand; but all that is over now. That there is a God these cottagers know; the name of the Saviour they have often heard; but scarce the semblance of an idea is conveyed by either of these awful, glorious names. After death, "poor folks must take their chance with other people." The thoughtful heathen—trembling, speculating, on the verge of the grave's great secret—was a wiser man than this Oxfordshire Englishman of the nineteenth century.

Does not the farmer, for whom he works, care for his enlightenment? No; the gulf between the classes is impassable, or crossed only by the coarse shout of command or abuse. The poor man does not love his master, that is clear; neither does he hate him. His feelings respecting him have sunk into downright apathy. The wages are paid—the miserable nine shillings, or sometimes only half!—on a Saturday night, with scarce a word on either side; certainly without a smile: and the two instantly diverge to paths as separate as if a world divided them.* For the farmer has heard the poor are getting insubordinate, and is resolved that his labourers, at least, shall be kept in place.

* See Dr. Arnold's third letter on "The Social Condition of the Operative Classes." *Miscellaneous Works*, p. 177.

The poor peasant, too, has heard now and then rumours of strange things. Confused murmurs have reached his ears, echoed from distant towns and bolder men. "It will not always be so; the poor will have their rights one day." Yet what are these rights? and how to be obtained? Dim visions of revenge, of revolt—ay, of incendiary fires—loom across his brain; but no, to dream thus is to despair. Then he remembers a strange look of compassion and brotherly sympathy in one unknown, who long since entered the humble cottage, to substantial gifts of kindness added brave and comforting words, and then passed on his way. Perhaps a love like this may one day bring the solution of the mystery. But he knows not. All he can do is, to work while he has the chance; when he has not, to be thankful for the parish loaf, and to wonder often, in his simple way, why poor men were created.

The story might be made far sadder, yet most true. Every one who has explored such scenes knows of immeasurably darker shades than I have ventured to throw in. For, when so oppressed by poverty and care, without sympathy on earth or hope in heaven, what more likely than the despairing lapse into recklessness and vice? The battle is too hard, and at last the combatant ceases to withstand. The spirit of man truly is the most elastic thing in the universe, and God be praised! but is not this giant weight enough to break its spring? I know that the religion of Jesus, in its simplicity, has reached many such homes, and imparted its peaceful strength. Yet often does ignorance distort even this into the wildest fanaticism; and sometimes, when the Bible is truly loved, the contrast between society as delineated there, and society as man has made it, excites in more thinking spirits a bitterness of feeling which, though scarcely unnatural, is assuredly unchristian. But in many other cases there is nothing of even this partial and mingled influence. Self-respect has no nutriment from without the man, and, however long the struggle, is gradually starved from within him. He sinks to the likeness of a brute. His cottage becomes a hovel; his family grow up wretched, abandoned, unchaste; his desolate old age seeks the

shelter of a workhouse; and he rests at last in a pauper's grave. No man writes his epitaph, or surely its words might be more in sorrow than in anger. Sorrow, at least for him, blended with holiest indignation at that perversion of the laws of the Most High which permits thousands of our peasantry to sink down continually into wretchedness and ruin, from among the lords of the soil they till, without a hand to arrest their fall, and with scarcely a tear to bewail their perdition.*

II.

The artizan in our smaller towns presents, in many respects, a fairer picture. His wages are better. His home, when undefiled by vice, is more commodious and seemly. He can, most probably, read and write. His children attend day-schools, where the lessons are intelligible, and sometimes well given. There is altogether a fair opportunity for a worthy and an earnest life. Yet he unconsciously suffers, in a measure, from the same great social evil as that which abandons the agricultural labourer, uncared for, to his degradation. The separation of classes is still defined and inveterate. Working men are left to the sympathies of their own order, almost exclusively. Their employers have no more than a business connexion with them; and, as to the rest, leave them to move in their own circle, to think their own thoughts, and live but for themselves.

The consequences are, perhaps, rather negative than positive. But there is no exception to the rule, that it is harmful to leave any class of the community to itself, be it high or low. Narrowness of mind is the smallest evil that results. In the present case, the effect is seen in a listless and apathetic spirit. There is little thinking, and less effort at mental cultivation. The class of men of whom I speak have, in general, few definite ideas on any subjects beyond the level of daily

* For many facts illustrative of this delineation, the reader is referred to a little book by the Rev. W. Ferguson, of Bicester, entitled, "The Impending Dangers of our Country, or Hidden Things brought to Light." 1848.

work and daily care; neither do they strive to attain them. They are easily swayed; and few sentiments retain a firm grasp upon their minds. It is common to see them at public meetings, sitting together at the back of the hall, and applauding everything that is but expressed in forcible, outspoken language. At the last general election, it was not less amusing than painful, to witness the readiness with which a large company of operatives, standing at the hustings of not the least intelligent borough in the kingdom, shouted their impartial hurrahs to the avowals of No-Popery Toryism, and to the doctrines of the People's Charter.

Religious societies have but little hold upon them as a class. Some of them are members of Christian churches, and the association cannot but refine and elevate. Still, even here it is not always the case that "the rich and poor meet together" in the free spirit of Christian equality; and where they do not, the certain consequence is, on the one side a supercilious coldness, on the other a fanatic conceit. But the great majority are alienated; not professedly infidel, but careless. They sometimes passively enter the place of worship, but more frequently they spend the Sabbath in idleness. The view, from the sick chamber, of a street inhabited principally by artisans, during the time of Sunday morning public service, is very melancholy. Ministers of the Gospel hardly suspect what numbers are strolling indolently about—not ragged, drunken fellows either, but intelligent-looking working people, arrayed in their best clothes, with wives and sweethearts by their side. Every country walk in the neighbourhood presents a similar spectacle. The children, happily, are in the Sunday-school. In another chapter, some reasons may be assigned for this carelessness. Enough now to advert to the fact. "God is not in all their thoughts." Religious culture and mental enlightenment are alike far from them. Good morals are in them chiefly the dictate of policy, the result of habit, or the suggestion of taste.

Yet they are not without aspiration—albeit unknowing what they seek. Listen to their talk in workshops, encourage

them to utter their secret thoughts, and a deep dissatisfaction will be found. This it is makes them so eager to listen, and so ready to applaud. It is the restlessness of the afflicted man ignorant of his disease, and catching, therefore, at every proffered nostrum. But, hitherto, they have been only mocked by disappointment. Is there, then, no influence embodied in society capable of interpreting their desires, of revealing higher aims, and of worthily directing the now bewildered energies? If there is, it assuredly slumbers. The work is too evidently unaccomplished yet, and few there are who gird themselves even to attempt it.

As before, I have declined to dwell upon the darker features of the case. But only let it be for a moment remembered how certain the tendency by which carelessness and discontent gravitate toward profligacy and vice, and it will appear no wonder that our working men so often fall from the position which no high principle urges them to maintain, into sloth, and drunkenness, and beggary. Their path is steep and rugged at the best, and when no heavenly hand beckons from the summit, and no spring of energy within puts strength into their footsteps, and no stronger companion assists their toiling way, it is but too likely that they will falter and sink down. Hence in every town there is a sediment of ragged wretchedness, most distressful to see, but not altogether impossible to explain.

III.

The masses of working people congregated in the metropolis, our larger seaports, and the factories and mines of the north, possess a far more marked and decided character. Their association, and often their employment, creates a large amount of intellectual energy. Education, consequently, is much more general. Powers and elements exist among them capable of noblest and most beautiful exercise, and though as yet they lie in much chaos and disorder, they are so far exercised as to make these districts, with all their faults, the scenes on which the true philanthropist will look with the largest

measure of approval and hope. The notion, prevalent so long, of the superior morality of rural districts is now fairly dispelled by the strong evidence of facts. Wise men no longer speak of the inseparable connexion between the picturesque and the pure, or regard "the breezy call of incense-breathing morn" as a certain summons to the obedience of God's commandments. It is true that both the temptations to crime and the opportunities for its commission will multiply in proportion to the density of population; but it is no less true that the same cause creates other influences more than counteractive. The brick factory and the dusky lane may occasionally witness more stupendous vices than the woodbined cottage or the secluded vale; but it habitually nurtures nobler virtues. Mental activity is, in itself, more favourable to morality and religion than mental sloth; for, though it cannot be doubted that its perversion is more injurious, it is certain that its right direction is more beneficial. And there is no reason why such direction should not be given.*

True, this energy is frequently misdirected. The fault, so often already noted, exerts its baneful influence here. The

* Mr. Canning is reported to have said, that "there is nothing so misleading as figures, except facts." The paradox contains much truth, for, on the one hand, the science of statistics is yet in its infancy, and, on the other, the true principles of induction, *i. e.*, of reasoning from facts, are comprehended by very few; while, at the same time, the mere possession of such data, however incorrectly the inferences may be drawn, inspires in the reasoner a complacent and self-sufficient spirit, and not unfrequently deludes the judgment of those who cannot discriminate.

Admitting all this, it seems impossible to draw from the following statements any other than one conclusion:—

"In 1842, *a time of severe manufacturing distress*, the average of poor-rates in Lancashire was 3s. 2d. a head; in Cheshire, 3s. 11d.; and in the West Riding of York, 4s. 3d.; but in Bedfordshire, 7s. 7d.; in Dorsetshire, 9s. 3d.; in Bucks, 9s.; in Essex, 9s. 11d.; and in Wilts, 10s. 3d."—*Baines' Letters on the Manufacturing Districts*, p. 55.

"In 1847, in Lancashire, one-fourteenth of the population were in a state of pauperism; in Cheshire, one-sixteenth; in West Yorkshire, one-

employers and employed are too much separated; assuming, too generally, the attitude rather of rivals than of fellow-workers. Their true identity of interest is but partially understood, and their friendly relation therefore ceases the moment they have left the factory. This evil, indeed, is not universal. It is least prevalent, on the whole, in the manufacturing towns of Yorkshire; most unmitigated in the mining districts. Its inevitable consequence is, that the working class forms a distinct community, with principles, morals, practices of its own. It is "a nation in a nation." The men meet their masters in the field of their daily work, as one empire might trade with another, for profit merely, and often with really less fellowship of feeling than unites two lands between which an ocean rolls. In their manner there is an abruptness which, to a stranger, seems native barbarism, but which is in fact the suspicious assertion of a disputed right. They cherish their very dialect, although in education far beyond many of politer speech, as its use seems to assert their independence. Their political and religious opinions are the natural result of their habits and their spirit. Chartism and freethinking widely prevail; and any doctrine which but expresses, in some striking form, the spirit of hostility to things as they are, is sure of glad acceptance.

A hostile attitude, however, is always an attitude of discontent; and the antagonism of our working classes to existing systems is essentially a posture of expectation. Weary of negative doctrines, they are longing for the assertion of some principle that shall guide them to a better state of society, in which it shall be possible to do more than

fourteenth: but in Bedfordshire, one-eighth; in Dorset, one-seventh; in Bucks, one-sixth; in Essex, one-seventh; and in Wilts, one-sixth."—*Jerrold's Weekly News*, March 10, 1849.

"The increase of population in the great manufacturing districts of England, from 1831 to 1845, was 28.6 per cent., and the increase of *detected* crime (in proportion to population), 23.6; the increase of population in the agricultural districts was 13.7, and the increase of crime, 25.6."—*Eclectic Review*, December, 1848.

struggle or resist. Ten years ago, thousands of them fancied they had discovered their ideal in the theories of Socialism. They have since awakened, and, lo! it is a dream! But they are waiting yet. The Ten Hours' agitation, the Anti-Corn-law movement itself, so far as they participated in it, were but occasional outlets of an eagerness which any fair promise of social regeneration—nay, even the eloquence of any gifted teacher speaking with sympathy to their hearts—will always rouse to enthusiastic fervour. Pity that the promise is so often a delusion—the teacher so often a demagogue! Yet it is cheering to know that discrimination is being taught by experience. The alternate hope and disappointment are creating a spirit of thoughtfulness. And when, at last, the truth is wisely and worthily spoken, it will find a people ready at once to welcome its proclamation with gladness, and to weigh its claims with candour. As surely as the world was prepared for its Messiah by ages of doubt and darkness, of struggle and guilt, so surely is our land being trained, through the discipline of sin and sorrow, for the development, in brightest glory, of that truth which shall regenerate and save the nations. Akin, then, to “the unconscious prophecies of heathendom,” are these ineffectual wrestlings with unbelief and discontent. We may look on, therefore, most hopefully. True, by thousands, our houses of worship are utterly forsaken;—true, halls and rooms are to be found in every great city of the kingdom, where, during Sabbath hours, kings and priests, governments and religion, are derided and reviled, while each fluent schemer points the throng that hangs upon his lips to a fancied paradise of reason and perfection;—true, those who profess the religion of the Gospel too often discern its true intent but feebly, and either move the derision of their fellow-workers by mingled fanaticism and cant, or seek to propitiate their scepticism by attenuating God's revelation into a powerless morality;—all this is most true, but we need not despair. It is a wreck, no doubt, but such an one as that of which it is written, “The earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep;

and the SPIRIT OF GOD was moving upon the face of the waters." A voice of power will soon be heard, "Let there be light!" and from disorder and chaos will arise a fairer world and a diviner harmony than that which caused the morning stars to sing together, and all the sons of God to shout aloud for joy.

While, however, we descry, amid so many evils, the signs of better things, we must not overlook or underrate the evils themselves. Those already mentioned lead, inevitably, to others of a yet darker cast. I have already said that crime, if less prevalent and brutal among a crowded, instructed population than among one that is scattered and ignorant, is yet, when it does occur, more gigantic in its scale, and more harmful in its result. The disappointment and restlessness of men who, like the masses of our operatives, are seeking rest but finding none, is fain to seek refuge in licentiousness and vice. Multitudes, therefore, baffled and hopeless, abandon themselves to idleness, intemperance, and crime. The lanes of London, the cellars of Liverpool, the courts of Manchester, the wynds of Glasgow, are crowded with miserable wrecks. Raggedness, beggary, and theft, lurk there in guilt and shame, bearing fearful testimony of the evil influences at work above them. The Christian missionary, the temperance advocate, and the Ragged schoolmaster have visited them at last; and some are uplifted and nerved again for the conflict; but most surely may it be foreseen that unless new help for the renewed struggle is afforded they will fall again, with thousands more, and their last state shall be worse than their first.

Such is, in the main, the condition of our working classes. Had it been needful, facts and statistics might have been adduced to illustrate every line of the portraiture. The experience, however, of every observant reader will be sufficient confirmation. Indeed the only objection I fear, is that the case is understated. Every friend of the poor will be able to point to instances of far more abject ignorance, more wretched destitution, and more degraded vice, than any I have

ventured to depict. My apology must be, that I have been throughout solicitous to state no more than the natural result of the principles embodied in our present social system. Such must ever be the effect of the alienation of classes, and the consequent prevalence of discontent. More aggravated evils may, to say the least, be regarded as exceptional. In addressing ourselves to them, we should understand that we are but alleviating the more violent symptoms of a universal disease, and that our chief care should still be to remedy that disease itself.

Perilous, yet hopeful, is the task thus committed to those who would truly serve their generation. It is hopeful, because the point to be aimed at is so clear. Let the different classes of society be once brought to trust one another, and every needed reform will most surely follow. But it is perilous, because the habits and prejudices to be encountered are so various, so firmly established, and so vast. The work can only be done by those who *believe* in it. Faith will remove mountains. And in proportion as the end is clearly seen, the means will be likely to be wisely chosen.

There are some plain principles, which those who would achieve any social reform must ever bear in mind. These will be found more or less embodied in the suggestions of the following pages. It is needless, therefore, to dwell upon them in the abstract now. One, however, is so important, that I may be excused for stating it here, at the risk of having variously and often to repeat it. This is, that any means adopted to secure the welfare of the working classes, must be thoroughly divested of an exclusive character. They must not, by their condescending aspect, convey the notion of inferiority, nor by their patronising tone keep alive the spirit of subjection. This condescension and perpetual patronage have done amazing mischief. Working-class literature, working-class education, working-class religion, when spoken of as things distinct and apart, always sound suspiciously. They seem like the contrivances of well-meaning persons, who, in their hasty benevolence, have forgotten that the minds for which they would care

are, in truth, of the same texture as their own. Such means only perpetuate the alienation so much to be deplored. True, there must be adaptation to the poor man's condition, but not such as to leave out of sight that in his spiritual being, and therefore in his spiritual needs, he is one with his betters. The adaptation, in a word, must simply be to the *circumstances* of his position. You would cheapen the Shakspeare for his pocket, but it is the same Shakspeare, for all that, which adorns the library of his master. You would take his penny at the gate of the Zoological Garden, but it admits him equally with the rich man's shilling to gaze upon the wonders of nature there. Just so with all that wisdom can teach, or religion impart. Smooth his access to it, but let him understand that it is his no less truly than it is yours. Let him feel, not that what he may attain is the gift of your wondrous condescension, but that he himself is striving for it under the conditions assigned by his Creator, and that, when gained, he has as much right to stand up independently before God, and thank him alone for the boon, as you can have, or any man beside.

This principle, it may be hereafter found, is of great importance. It is needful, however, now to pass on, and to inquire, under some distinct heads, in what direction the remedies are to be sought for our manifold and deep-seated social ills.

CHAPTER V.

EMPLOYERS AND EMPLOYED.

It is essential to a good understanding between the employer and the employed, that each party should thoroughly comprehend the position and claims of both. While neither refuses to move from its own point of view, or to take any estimate of the others's rights, reconciliation will remain impossible. A writer of last year * was not so far mistaken in saying, " 'Rights of property' should be the watchword of the working man; 'rights of labour' the watchword of the capitalist and employer." For the Christian maxim is a universal rule: "Look not every man on his own things, but every man on the things of others."

This lesson is needed by the working man at least as much as by his master. Perverted as the labourer's position may be, wronged as he often is, it is undeniable that he, together with some of his heartiest friends, have shown themselves too apt to lay the blame in wrong quarters, and consequently to seek a remedy by mistaken means. Nowhere has such misconception operated more injuriously than in reference to the question of WAGES. "A fair day's pay for a fair day's work" has often been a vague and unreasoning cry. The principles upon which the remuneration of labour must depend, and

* In "Politics for the People."

which it would be as impossible to alter and as ruinous to disregard as the very laws of nature, have been slighted or forgotten. Rules have been prescribed which would render the conscientious, and, at the same time, profitable employment of capital, an impracticability. It has even been proposed to appeal to the legislature for the enactment of a wages-standard, the only result of which must have been to annihilate whole branches of national industry—to drive the wealthy capitalist to other fields of exertion or amusement—and to involve a host of both employers and employed in irreparable ruin.

“I am not a political economist,” is an avowal often made, with deprecating air, by the speaker or writer who addresses himself to the popular treatment of this subject. “Then, sir, you certainly ought to be, or else to be silent,” would be no inapt rejoinder. It is, indeed, quite time that the public should learn to regard political economy as neither a mystery nor a bugbear. For the science is no invention of statesmen and cotton-spinners, for their own private ends. It consists simply of the general laws drawn from the analysis of Commerce, just as grammar, for instance, exhibits the laws of language, or logic those of reasoning. Now, though it is certainly possible that a man should speak correctly, or reason accurately, without a formal knowledge of these latter sciences, it is very improbable. In like manner, while the duties of tradesman, merchant, or employer, may in some cases be well comprehended and fulfilled without a scientific understanding of the principles on which they rest, it is quite clear that there would be a greater likelihood of practical correctness and wisdom were these principles comprehended. In fact, the loudest declaimers against political economy are, in some sort, political economists themselves. They, too, have their principles, theories, and conclusions; the main distinction between which and those of the true expounders of the science is, that the one are the result of careful and systematic study, the others formed from “instinct,” and at random. As Archbishop Whately has well expressed it, while the persons in question

denounce political economy, they are the while only *bad* political economists. And their disclaiming the appellation only places them in the position of the Bourgeois of Moliere, who had—in a loose, ungrammatical way, no doubt—all his life been talking prose, without being aware of it.*

This matter of wages in itself is entirely simple. Labour is a commodity; the workman the seller, the employer the purchaser. And as with all other commodities, so with this. When the stock in the market exceeds the buyers' wants, it will be cheap; when the wants surpass the stock, it will be dear. "I once asked the opinion of an operative upon this subject," says Dr. W. C. Taylor,† "and his answer was a complete explication of the problem. He replied, 'When two masters are looking for one man, wages will be high; but when two men are looking for one master, they will be low; and that's all about the matter.' " It is admitted that, from want of principle or want of thought, the purchaser of labour will often take undue advantage of a glut, and so abate the price as to cause great suffering to the vendor; but, though we condemn the carelessness or cupidity that occasions the evil, we cannot prevent its consequences. These are in many cases, perhaps in most,‡ inevitable. We justly pronounce a

* The "Manchester School" itself can afford for the present to be quite easy under all the manifold attacks made upon it; for positively the strongest weapon that even a Thomas Carlyle can wield against it, seems to be the sarcastic *tone* in which he continuously and in ever-varying form, echoes such phrases as "Cash payment," "*Laissez-faire*," "Demand and Supply," and "Buy in the cheapest market, sell in the dearest!"

† "Notes of a Tour in the Manufacturing Districts," p. 111.

‡ Not in all; only because the circumstances of some trades are such, that a large portion of the public can easily trace the cupidity that beats down the price of labour in order to undersell more honourable employers, and with a wholesome indignation refuses to be allured by the bait of cheapness. *In this case*, the competition may with impunity be declined. But the instances are far more numerous in which it is plainly impossible to appeal to public feeling on the subject, and the remedy is no longer in individual masters' hands.

woe upon him by whom the offence cometh, but the offence itself must needs be. For the fair and philanthropic trader to decline the competition so commenced, would be to sacrifice his workman's interest as well as his own. The only hope is in an enlargement of the demand for labour, or a diminution of its supply. To incur loss and risk bankruptcy by a determination to maintain former prices, would be neither wisdom nor benevolence; for though the scanty remuneration might be "half the loaf," the result of stoppage would be "no bread."

Then let it be remembered, that the same influences which diminish wages, tend to keep down profits; that the time of distress to the operative is the time of anxiety to his master; and that good pay to the workman means large returns to the capitalist. The employer, therefore, has as much reason as his workpeople, to wish for good wages; while he has no more power than they have, either to alter, or, without most serious and impolitic hazard, to exceed the market rate.

These may be called conclusions of political economy, or facts in God's world, I care not which. Facts they are, and it is time that all workpeople thoroughly understood them. The vague indignation that now wastes itself in empty air, or serves no other purpose than to alienate two classes that ought to have every interest in common, would then be consolidated into a resolute purpose to strive against the political and social ills, that now cause labour to be often so miserable a heritage, and capital so perilous a possession. The clamour for "a fair day's wages for a fair day's work," would be changed into the practical demand of "plenty of work to do, and only men enough to do it." A matter this to be accomplished, I firmly believe, on the average, if the nation did but recognise its importance, and set about it in the right way. The first thing is, *to remove every impediment in the way of a full supply of work*, such as protective tariffs, restrictions on commerce, and the like. This is the proper business of the legislature. By this time it would have been fulfilled were the Commons the

House of the People.* Even as it is, no mean triumph has been gained by the repeal of the corn-laws, with other measures, kindred to that great act of justice. More may yet be gained from the same quarter, and by similar means. Yet, though we would make the best of what is imperfect, nothing can supersede the duty of labouring for its improvement; and therefore does it become the solemn obligation of every true social reformer, to promote, by every appropriate means, the full and truthful representation of all classes of the community in the senate of our land.

The second thing is, *to check the over-supply of labourers*. This can only be effected by the forethought and energy of the working classes themselves; and sure I am that, did the labourer but comprehend the simple philosophy of his position, and see other portions of the community sincerely endeavouring to remove the causes of this depression, he would not fail to do his part. It would lead me, however, too far to specify every means by which the injurious redundance is to be prevented. Some will be touched upon in the concluding chapter. Prudence in the formation of matrimonial engagements is an obvious suggestion: so, too, is emigration, for God made THE WORLD to be inhabited; but the chief expedient is, *frugality*. Why should not the workman, in favourable times, secure resources on which to fall back when work is slack, and so, by voluntary withdrawment, help to equalize the supply of labour with its demand? This method of keeping down redundance is both manly and English, whatever may be said of other plans. I only hint at these matters now; they may be enlarged on hereafter.

One thing, then, is demonstrated, that the employers of

* Into the distinction between real and nominal wages I have not entered. The matter in this connexion is, however, well worth a passing thought. The nominal wages are the money paid; the real wages *what that money will buy*. And it will now buy comparatively so little, because of the large deduction made by the Government in the shape of taxes and duties. There will be improvement in this respect too, when the Commons is the House of the People.

labour are not mainly to blame for the evils and miseries consequent upon low wages. The fault and the cure lie both elsewhere. But with this conclusion we must not stop. The mere recognition by the working classes of such a truth, however distinct, will do but little towards securing their confidence. The master who desires this result must make it evident that he brings into his dealings with his workpeople a liberal and fraternal heart—that he will take no selfish advantage of their need—and that he ever prefers the spirit of justice to the letter of the law. For it must never be forgotten that there are rules which political economy can never supply, even on this subject of wages—not contrary to it, but beyond its beat; rules perhaps to be summed up in a single word—*considerateness*. Many employers might be mentioned whose conduct towards their workmen, consistent as it is with the strictest maxims of political economy, presents at once an example of implicit obedience to the scriptural law, “Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal;” and a beautiful illustration of the Divine command, “Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them.” They do not pretend to give more than the fair market price of labour; yet it is observable that their workmen are always the first to partake their prosperity, and the last to share their adversity. Never by underhand dealing, nor by trading with men’s necessities, do they depress the remuneration of labour. There is nothing of the niggard in them. Over their pay-tables there is never any wrangling for “the odd shilling.” In their whole intercourse with their labourers, justice and liberality go hand in hand. Stern and rugged in appearance, I have known such men, keen to detect and severe to punish anything like deceit or wrong, yet combining with strict integrity hearts so warm, that the honest, trusted workman, could do or endure anything in their cause, nay, “would even dare to die.” And what is the consequence? Why, even the pecuniary results are incalculable. “I would not change my set of men,” said a mill-owner, “for my neighbour’s there, for a farthing less than seven thousand pounds. I have sat down to calculate,

and I find that the value of having such workmen about me, rather than his, is fully equal to that amount. Yet we both pay the same wages." The whole secret was in the master's *considerateness*.* His workmen were made to feel that he regarded them as having a share in the concern, and they, therefore, cared for his prosperity as though it were their own.

Where such a state of things exists, there will be little difficulty in bringing the labourer to acquiesce in a necessary reduction of wages. The testimony of Dr. W. C. Taylor on this point is very striking. "It happened," he says, "that the Messrs. Ashworth had made a reduction of wages some time before I visited their factories. I was anxious to know how this measure had been received by the persons in their employment; and I took the opportunity, which I found easy enough, of inquiring into their opinions, in the absence of their employer and the overseers. They uniformly stated that Messrs. Ashworth had delayed making the reduction for weeks after it had been made by their neighbours; that they were conscious of their being forced into the measure by the decay of trade; and this decay they universally attributed to the refusal of the Government to admit the materials of payment proffered by those who were anxious to become our customers." Voluntary testimony this, worth no little sacrifice! And the men who gave it afforded indications in their persons, their manners, their homes, that the influences which had bound them to their employers had been elevating and ennobling to themselves. Frugality, self-respect, manliness of character, marked the whole community. For the shock, of which they so well understood the causes,

* Examples of this considerateness might be multiplied. In the town in which I write, for instance, the masters of somewhat large factories make a point of paying full wages for every day of special national cessation of labour, such as days of humiliation and thanksgiving. When the Ten Hours Act, again, came into operation, they made no reduction of wages. I believe they would say that in neither case did they suffer any appreciable pecuniary loss. But even if they had, the good-will secured would be abundantly worth the sacrifice.

they were adequately prepared. Instead of being the slaves of circumstance, they were prepared to meet vicissitude; bravely confronting adversity, because they had not forgotten themselves in prosperity.

With considerateness, in the list of an employer's virtues, I would rank *truthfulness*. All wages should be fairly and straightforwardly paid. There is a meanness in many trade customs that must infallibly revolt the thoughtful workman's mind far more than any inadequacy of payment. Nothing so greatly alienates man from man as untruthfulness. No matter what usages or opinions authorise it, it is perfectly contemptible to see a master professing to give certain wages, and then, in their very passage from his hand to the labourer's pocket, making a per centage upon them for himself! It may be greed of lucre, it may be a careless acquiescence in things as they are; but it is altogether unmanly and wrong. If the deduction from wages must be made, let it at least be made honestly, and not wrapt up in a pretence. Illustrations, in great number, might be given. There is, for instance, *the truck system*, wholly abominable, whether at the farm pay-table, or at the pit's mouth, or in the lace buyer's warehouse. The method, again, of renting looms, frames, and the like, in such places as Leicester and Nottingham, is little better. The weaver, working in his cottage, is compelled to hire a loom from his employer, at a very high per centage on its value—say one and nine pence a week—which is deducted from his earnings. "Why does not the poor man save money and buy a loom for himself?" asks some innocent reader. *He is not permitted to do so.* Or, if in any case the operative should possess a loom, there are masters who will compel him to set that idly by and hire one from them. Then if work is slack, and there is only employment for half the weaver's time, he has still to pay the full week's rent for the loom. His nominal earnings may be fifteen shillings, or not seven; no matter, the one and nine pence is equally deducted. Now, I ask, is it possible, on such a system, for goodwill between master and man to prevail? Never while the world shall stand.

In these instances, and in such evasions, again, as the nullification of the Ten Hours Act by means of relays, the mischief does not arise from the pecuniary loss. This might be borne. It is the falsehood that exasperates. Nor does the imposture gain much by being transparent and accredited. To be duped before one's very face, and all the time to know that there is no redress, is perhaps more irritating, from the sense of inferiority and powerlessness it occasions, than a more subtle deceit. The working of the system, in every form, is thoroughly bad. I have seen much of its effects, and am most firmly convinced that so long as it shall last, the gulf between employers and employed will be hopelessly impassable.

Before I dismiss this subject of wages, it may be well to suggest the inquiry, whether, in some departments of industry, arrangements could not be made that would give to every workman, more *directly* and *avowedly* than on the general plan, a partner's interest in its success. I say "more directly," because, *in fact*, the workmen are to be considered much in the light of partners already, the wages being their share of the chance of profit, paid in advance and by instalments. A more manifest recognition of partnership, however, while the pecuniary results might not be much greater than at present, would, in many ways, be beneficial. For instance, "in the American ships trading to China, it has long been the custom for every sailor to have an interest in the profits of the voyage; and to this has been ascribed the general good conduct of those seamen, and the extreme rarity of any collision between them and the government or people of the country. An instance in England itself, not so well known as it deserves to be, is that of the Cornish miners. In Cornwall the mines are worked strictly on the system of joint adventure; gangs of miners contracting with the agent, who represents the owner of the mine, to execute a certain portion of a vein, and fit the ore for market, at the price of so much in the pound of the sum for which the ore is sold. These contracts are put up at certain regular periods, generally every two months, and taken by a

voluntary partnership of men accustomed to the mine. This system has its disadvantages, in consequence of the uncertainty and irregularity of the earnings, and consequent necessity of living for long periods on credit; but it has advantages which more than counterbalance these drawbacks. It produces a degree of intelligence, independence, and moral elevation, which raise the condition and character of the Cornish miners far above those of the generality of the labouring class. We are told by Dr. Barham that 'they are not only, as a class, intelligent for labourers, but men of considerable knowledge.' Also, that 'they have a character of independence something American, the system by which the contracts are let giving the takers entire freedom to make arrangements among themselves; so that each man feels, as a partner in his little firm, that he meets his employers on nearly equal terms.' With this basis of intelligence and independence in their character, we are not surprised when we hear that a very great number of miners are now located in possessions of their own, leased for three lives, or ninety-nine years, on which they have built houses; or that £281,541 are deposited in savings' banks in Cornwall, of which two-thirds are estimated to belong to miners." *

* Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," vol. ii., pp. 327, 328. (The extract is from Mr. Samuel Laing.) Many other valuable illustrative facts, with some important suggestions, are given by Mr. Mill, who concludes the chapter in these words:—"The value of this 'organization of industry,' for healing the widening and embittering feud between the class of labourers and the class of capitalists, must, I think, impress itself by degrees on all who habitually reflect on the condition and tendencies of modern society. I cannot conceive how any such person can persuade himself that the majority of the community will for ever, or even for much longer, consent to hew wood and draw water all their lives in the service and for the benefit of others; or can doubt that they will be less and less willing to co-operate as subordinate agents in any work, when they have no interest in the result, and that it will be more and more difficult to obtain the best workpeople, except on conditions similar in principle to the above. Although, therefore, arrangements of this sort are now in their infancy,

Expedients, somewhat similar, might be adopted in reference to other departments of labour. The plan, I admit, would not be universally practicable; nor do I think it can ever be adopted to the extent supposed by Mr. Mill; but, at any rate, there is room for its extension. Even now it is common to remunerate those in whom peculiar trust is placed, by means of a per centage on the profits; and conversely, to make this mode of remuneration, in one form or another, more general, would be a sure means of producing trustworthiness. Capital, at the same time, would occupy its legitimate province, and maintain its rights unimpaired.

We have not yet exhausted the duties of the "lords of labour." Their position involves obligations which no payment of wages, however truthful, considerate, or liberal, can redeem. True, their business *as employers* stops with this. The purchaser of labour has no more, as far as that is concerned, to do with the private concerns of the seller than the purchaser of any other commodity. But the peculiar circumstances of the former contract create other relations, bringing with them duties of their own. The close association of the workman with his master, and the fact that so frequently the whole time of the former is placed at the disposal of the latter, present an opportunity which may not without sin be neglected, for the discharge of those obligations which every man owes to HIS NEIGHBOUR. If any are neighbours, surely those whose lives are spent in toiling for us are so emphatically. And if ever there is place for the special practical remembrance of the truth, All ye are brethren, it is here. To the *employer's* eye, they are but "hands;" to that of the *man* and the Christian, they are brothers. And, in the words of a gifted author, "we cannot justly enter into a relation so meagre with our fellow-creatures, as that of employing all their time, and giving them nothing but money in return."

What shall we give them, then? becomes a natural question.

their multiplication and growth, when once they enter into the general domain of popular discussion, are among the things which may most confidently be expected."—pp. 335, 336.

In reply, no general rules can be laid down. Philanthropy can be reduced to no code beyond this—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Nor can the feelings alone be trusted. The first impulse of sincere benevolence is often to interfere. There is an intrusiveness which either creates irritation or destroys independence. “My concerns are my own!” is a rebuff not seldom experienced by well-meaning charity. Of all things it is the most difficult to drop the patron and to act the brother. Still, some matters connected with the labourer’s position must ever be under the special control of capital. For himself he cannot effect them, and is, therefore, much at his employer’s or the capitalist’s mercy. Noble opportunities are thus afforded for the manifestations of true fraternity; and if there is one thing for which wealth is more to be coveted than another, it is surely the power which it gives of affording help without compromising independence, of ‘lending a hand’ frankly, heartily, that with its aid, yet by the exercise of his own muscles, our brother man may climb!

I can only mention a few points where such help, and in such a spirit, may be well afforded.

The *labourer’s home* is a subject of great importance. The house of an Englishman, I know, is his castle, however scanty, ill-ventilated, and undrained it may be. I would not have it otherwise. There is something very noble in the instinctive reluctance with which the poorest man will permit even the most friendly visit of inspection to his home. Opportunities, however, will often occur of giving general hints and advice without the offence of particular application; but, at any rate, a word may be spoken to the landlord and the builder of houses for the poor. Not that I have any quarrel with them. The difficulties of the landlord are peculiar—his temptations great. He has the opportunity of gaining, without any discredit, a large rental from his outlay.* Why should he forego it?

* Advertisements like the following are not uncommon:—

“For sale, for 250 guineas, five small houses, bringing in a clear income of above £70 a year.”

“One hundred and fifty pounds a year to be sold for 700 guineas, arising from houses eligibly situated near the city.”

Why not crowd the dwellings together after the usual fashion? Is it not even the custom to set cottages back to back? To leave ground for gardens, will it pay? And why should he spend money on underground work, for which he will have no returns? I answer in the words of the author of the "Claims of Labour:—"

"It may seem a strong thing to say, but I can conceive it possible, in a Christian country, for a man to restrain himself from making the utmost profit out of his possessions. I can imagine, for instance, an owner of land in a town being unwilling to demand such a price for it as would prevent the cottages of the labouring people from being built with those comforts and conveniences upon which civilization may almost be said to depend. A man may think that there is some responsibility attached to ownership; and he may not like to be in any way accessory to the building of such habitations for the poor as he thoroughly disapproves of. And if the owner of land feels this, still more may the capitalists who undertake to build upon it. It may be a satisfactory thing to collect in any way much money; but I think, on the other hand, that most men have a great pleasure in doing any thing well, in a workman-like and stable manner. And strange as it may seem, it is very possible that motives of profit and loss may not be the only ones which have led to such miserable building as is often to be seen in the houses of the poor. People have not thought about the matter. If they had seen the merit of building good houses of a small kind, I think that in many cases, the additional money required would not have stood in the way."

Nay, the liberal style of building turns out to be the best economy; for in the same work we find the following paragraphs taken from the examination of the Town Clerk of Leeds, before the Select Committee on Building Regulations, 1842:—

"Would not the building of the better kind of cottages always secure the best tenants?" "Unquestionably."

"And the person who invested the property in buildings of that kind would rather take six per cent. of good tenants than

seven per cent. of bad ones?" "Yes; we have a number of instances in Leeds. There is a gentleman, named Croysdill, who has two hundred or three hundred cottages; he receives the lowest rents on an average of any large proprietor of cottages; and they are unquestionably the most comfortable dwellings and the best occupied."

The matter is well worth the attention of all employers of labour. The amount of moral evil traceable to the remediless discomforts of the workman's home, is past calculation. There are habitations, every housewife will tell us, which, labour at them as she will, it is impossible to keep even clean. Their utter want of arrangement, of space, of decent conveniences, reduce the best of managers in time to despair and slatternliness. The only fire-side of the husband is in the ale-house, and ruin is inevitable. Then what loss of life is occasioned by defective building arrangements! It is said that an ancient orator, intent upon a great purpose, closed with one brief sentence every speech he made: *Carthago delenda est*. Carthage must be overthrown! Would that every writer and speaker on our social condition, with similar intensity of steadfastness, could repeat, till it sank down deep into the nation's ears, the fact, for fact it is, that the annual number of deaths in England alone, from *certainly preventible* typhus, equals twice the slaughter of our armies at Waterloo! What is even the cholera to this? Shall a fast, then, be proclaimed? No; let our men of capital and influence only resolve that each will do his part to destroy the evil. That will be a happy time for our operatives, when thousands of them exchange the stifling courts of the town for rows of cottages and cottage gardens in the suburbs. It has been proved by the Society for Improving the Dwellings of the Labouring Classes, and other authorities, over and over again, that the change would be a saving even in rent. The improvement in health, cheerfulness, morals, who can tell? True, artizans have a prejudice in favour of living near their work; but what multitudes of clerks, apprentices, tradesmen, shopmen, already walk from one to four miles to their business every morning. Why not the

operative too?*

The subject, I repeat, is of great moment. Legislation can do but little in the matter. But there can be no more fitting nor surely-rewarding enterprise for the private or conjoined endeavour of those who recognise the truth, that a high-toned character is seldom developed in any other than a seemly and well-regulated home.

Next to the provision of comfortable dwellings, I should be inclined to rank arrangements for free and public *recreation*. In our rural districts the village green still remains ; thanks be to Heaven, that low wages and manifold trial cannot rob that sod of its freshness, that sunshine of its brightness, or those gay young hearts of their elastic, bounding joy ! And some great towns have nobly provided what substitute their crowded neighbourhoods could afford for this time-honoured scene of English gaiety and mirth. In Manchester, lately, the sight that moved my admiration most was not the stately Athenæum, nor the vast ranges of factories, with all their marvels of skill and taste—nor the Free-trade Hall itself, with its hallowing remembrance of victories more glorious than Marathon or Waterloo—but, if I may say it, VICTORIA PARK, with its countless, light-hearted groups. It was a great and a becoming thing for the lords of labour in that great city, so to set apart in each quarter, hard by the temples of their commerce, an enclosure sacred to the free heart and bounding limb, the merry laugh and the kindling eye ! And they were all there that bright summer afternoon ! It was high day ; but it was the last day of the week, and most of my readers may know that the men, women, and children who toil in Manchester factories, have all, like school-boys, a half holiday on Saturday afternoon. There ran, and swung, and cricketed, and skipped the young folks ; not stunted or crippled either, we can assure our benevolent readers, by their week's work, but altogether the contrary ! I could have wished, it is true, that their work-time had been spent at the school rather than the mill, but certainly not be-

* It is obvious to reply that the *children* of the operative families could not traverse the distance. Equally obvious is the rejoinder, that, until they are old enough to do so, *they ought to be at school*.

cause either their strength or their spirits had been ground out of them by taskmasters. Never, indeed, have I seen a more gleeful company. And lads and lasses, in working clothes—for in that park no stigma is attached to the uniform of industry—were walking, and talking on—let me not venture to inquire what. Fathers, and some mothers too, stood by, with countenances in which care and disquiet had yielded for an hour to smiles of pride and gladness. And old men and women sat and sunned themselves, and thought, no doubt, of auld lang syne. It was a happy sight, a pattern for every town in the land;* and a sign, I could not but think, of an interest in the working classes on the part of their employers, far beyond interested calculations, or fashionable cant. Was it too sanguine to fancy that by such proofs of sympathy, gradually extending in other directions, and at length embracing all the relations between masters and men, the broken confidence would be restored, and the alienated parties again made one?

A great Roman moralist made beneficence to be a part of justice. It is to be lamented that we moderns and Christians have so little understood this profound truth. For it is one which behoves to be remembered, both in our commerce and our charity. That is not true justice from which the principle of benevolence is absent; nor is that true benevolence which exalts itself at the expense of justice. I have written to little purpose in the present chapter, if this truth has not already been brought out; and it may be yet further illustrated in reference to another great duty often incumbent upon the rich. I mean that of *almsgiving*. Here, indeed, arises a difficulty, greater by far than any other in the whole circle of relations between the rich and poor. How to relieve poverty without promoting pauperism, is the unsolved problem, alike of political economy and of Christian charity. Nor can I now

* Victoria-park, in the east of London, laid out with a similar intent to those in Manchester, is already felt to confer incalculable advantage on the neighbourhood. 1850.

pretend to investigate it. Great part of the perplexity may have arisen from the habit, so long fostered in our social system, of mistaking scanty justice for transcendent philanthropy, and offering, as a favour to the poor, far less than their befitting right. But let this pass. Perhaps the perversion of alms, so constantly complained of, may be regarded in great part as one of those evils which must attend the carrying out of every good and true principle in an imperfect world. Evils these, designed not for discouragement, but for caution. The State has no doubt its duty in relation to the destitute. It can do no more, however, than to provide that no man need absolutely starve.* All beyond must be left to individual benevolence. And one thing in connexion with almsgiving is certain; it may be managed so as to elevate or so as to degrade its objects. The same dole, dispensed by one, will leave the self-respect of the recipient unimpaired; bestowed by another will destroy self-respect utterly. The solution of the perplexity may be here. If we give as to paupers, we shall foster the pauper spirit; if as to brethren, the spirit of brotherhood will be reciprocated. Our friend in the same rank of life as ourselves, is neither degraded nor insulted by a gift; why should our friend in another rank? Only let us first honestly give him his due, that our professed benevolence may not be an exasperating mockery.

“I fear,” says Dr. Dewey, “we little know what a deep and almost terrific sentiment of hatred is often engendered in the breasts of the poor by the ordinary administration of charities. They feel themselves degraded, rather than obliged, by this manner of giving, and become, in fact, enemies of their benefactors. They have their part to play as well as the philanthropist; they consider it a sort of contest between them; and *their* business is to get all they can, to deceive as much as possible, and to remunerate themselves to the utmost for the

* I cannot refrain from earnestly commending to the thoughtful attention of my readers, the new movement (1849), on behalf of a national poor's rate. If rightly guided, it must lead to a very needful and most valuable reform.

unhappy and degraded relation which they sustain to their superiors. This is human nature ; and it is only by forgetting what human nature is, that we have been able to overlook this inevitable result. A *man* is not to be relieved as your horse or your dog may be ; it must be done with a sentiment of respect. I would that a new mode of giving were introduced, more accordant with the humanity and gentleness of the Gospel. I would that a man should be pained by having a fellow-being approach him in the humble attitude of a beggar. I would that a flush of ingenuous and sympathizing shame should overspread the brow of the giver. Alms are not to be a matter of business ; they must not be conferred upon the poor with indifference, or flung to them with contempt.” *

Let none think that the poor cannot appreciate the delicacy which will always characterize truly sympathizing and respectful acts of beneficence. They feel and understand it in a moment. It enhances immeasurably the smallest act of kindness, and without it the largest benefaction wins but scanty gratitude. Dr. W. C. Taylor writes of an operative, a self-taught artist after a fashion, whose cottage he visited in a period of great manufacturing distress :—“ A sixpence given to one of his children, a fine though a hungry-looking boy, scarcely elicited a word of acknowledgment, while the purchase of a picture of a dog, which he could hardly have painted in less than two days, for three shillings, was received with thanks ‘ warm from the heart and faithful to its fires.’ ” † That this is nature and truth, all who know the working classes will at once acknowledge.

How much *woman* might do for her lowlier sisters, I can but hint. She, at least, is ever welcome to the homes of the poor, and can inquire and counsel, and aid in a thousand matters where the best-meaning man would only succeed in giving offence by unintended rudeness ; and at the same time infuse into every benevolent act a delicacy and winning grace

* Discourse on the place which Education and Religion must have in the Improvement of Society.—Works, p. 263.

† “ Notes of a Tour,” &c., p. 45.

which his rougher nature was not formed to possess, and finds it impossible to assume.

Several ways of showing kindness and affording help are almost too obvious to be pointed out. Only let it be remembered that the most effective benevolence is that which assists and encourages the poor to help themselves; a style of charity more troublesome and difficult by far than indiscriminate almsgiving, and, therefore, a much better test of real philanthropy. Many an employer, for instance, subscribes to the friendly societies established among his workpeople, becoming an honorary member, and thus not only augmenting the funds, but acquiring a member's right to check the mismanagement and awful waste which so frequently render these institutions worse than useless. In many cases, again, where, for some reason or other, the men distrust savings' banks, the master himself has become the depositary—or, better still, his wife and daughters have—adding customary interest, and from time to time offering smiling congratulations on the increasing store.

I add yet another illustration of truly ingenious kindness, from the life of that great man, Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. "It is a cruel thing," he once said, "for the poor labourer to be obliged to part with all his pig, after nourishing it as a daughter and letting it lie in his bosom. When they ask me to buy a bit, I buy two—one for myself, the other for them; they are so grateful and so pleased!"*

If I enumerate *social intercourse* among the means conducive to the mutual good-will of employer and employed, let it not be misunderstood. "By social intercourse I do not merely mean that which will naturally take place in the ordinary charities—such as visiting the sick, managing clothing societies, and the like." Nor do I mean the theatrical intercourse of a gala-day, when ladies and gentlemen move condescendingly among their "Friends and Children" in the park, deign to witness their unwonted banquet on "old English

* "Memoir," p. 171.

fare," watch their semi-barbarous games with patronising smile, listen with upturned eyes to their parting song—

" Oh ! let us love our occupations,
Bless the squire and his relations,
Live upon our daily rations,
And always know our proper stations ! " *

and then resume their haughtiness and reserve, while the poor actors in the pageant retire to their homes of starvation and despair.† But I mean, again to adopt the graceful words of the Author of " Claims of Labour : "—" I mean that intercourse which includes an interchange of thought, an occasional community of pursuit, and an opportunity of direct instruction ; which may be frequent and extensive enough to avoid the evil effects of a sense of perpetual condescension on one side and timidity on the other, and which may give the employer some chance, at least, of learning the general wants and wishes of the people, and also of appreciating their individual characters.

" This matter is not an easy one. It requires tact, patience, discretion. I am not sure, however, that it is any sacrifice in the way of pleasure. The manufacturer's family who occasionally give an evening to social intercourse with their people, will not, perhaps, find that evening less amusing than many that they may pass with their equals.

" The advantage, to the rising generation of working people, of some intercourse with their betters, would be very great. I

* Dickens' " Chimes."

† " J. has a wife and a number of children dependent upon him, and upon begging, for support. His wages are 6s. per week ; house-rent, 1s. 6d. There was not a single bed in the house when I examined it. The wretched family, eight in number, including his daughter's child, all slept in one room, upon some old sacking filled with straw. They have no potatoes, and when they buy any coals they pay, at this season of the year, 1s. 8d. per cwt. for them. There is not a single pane of glass in any of the windows. THIS IS THE MAN (AND THIS IS HIS COTTAGE) WHO WAS ENGAGED TO ACT, AND WHO DID ACT, THE FOOL FOR THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, WHEN THE MARQUIS OF CHANDOS BECAME OF AGE."—*Ferguson's Impending Dangers of our Country*, p. 102.

must here quote the authority of one who has fully expressed in action the benevolent views which he has indicated in the following words: 'No humble cottage youth or maiden will ever acquire the charm of pleasing manners by rules, or lectures, or sermons, or legislation, or any other of those abortive means by which we, from time to time, endeavour to change poor human nature, if they are not permitted to *see* what they are taught they should practise, and to hold intercourse with those whose manners are superior to their own.' This intercourse will probably lead to something like accomplishments among the young people. Some of them will profit more than others from the manners and accomplishments which they will observe. And such differences will create a higher order of love among the working people. The manners of one sex will become different from the manners of the other; and the difference of individuals in each sex will be brought into play. All this is favourable to morality. When people work at the same kind of work, have no different pursuits to call out the different qualities of the two sexes, and have all of them manners of the same rude stamp, you can hardly expect that there will be much to ennoble them in their affections.

"But in themselves, the accomplishments and acquirements which working people may attain from social intercourse with their betters, are great things. The same kind-hearted employer whom I have quoted before, speaks thus upon the subject:—'Another point which has appeared to me of great importance is, to provide as many resources as possible of interest and amusement for their leisure hours; something to which they may return with renewed relish when their daily work is done; which may render their homes cheerful and happy, and may afford subjects of thought, conversation, and pursuit among them.' Moreover, a habit of attention, and even scientific modes of thought, are often called out in young people when they are learning some game. Besides, to do anything, or know anything which is harmless, is beneficial. A man will not be a worse workman because he can play at cricket or at chess; or because he is a good draughtsman, or

can touch some musical instrument with skill. He is likely to have more self-respect, and to be a better citizen. He cannot succeed in anything without attention and endurance; and these are the qualities which will enable him to behave reasonably in the vicissitudes of trade, or to prepare as much as possible against them."

On some points, then, I am quite at one with the Young Englanders. Like them, I would fain see happy groups of labourers assembled within the rich man's house; but not only at Christmas-tide or harvest-home, and for higher purposes than animal gratification or boisterous merriment. I would like, too, for gentle and simple, as of old, to speed together the flying ball in cricket on the green. I would have the master and the man united, not only in every interest, but in every sympathy and taste. The difference between Young England and those who hold the doctrines here advocated, is, that the former would establish this state of things by reverting to past habits, we by progressing to new principles. They would re-establish the bond of feudalism; we would rivet the bond of brotherhood. They would place the dealings of employer and employed beyond the operation of commercial laws; we would make obedience to those laws the very foundation of concord and mutual trust. Their hope is in the submission of the sons of toil; ours is in their independence. They would make a favour of justice, and accept the deference of their inferiors with an air of condescension; we would appeal to the working classes with the cordiality of friends, and by fair and manly kindness win their respect and love.*

* "Manner is a great matter." Take the two following quotations to wit:—

"We had, on entering the workroom of these females, an example of American character and manners. How did Mr. Harper, one of the principals of the firm, and master of these people, accost them? Did he rudely vociferate his orders in dictatorial and imperative language, after the English fashion? No. On entering their apartment, he took off his hat, paid them the compliments of the morning, inquired after their

To sum up all ; we are not to seek in any change of the mechanism of society the means of reconciling the two great classes of our people. It is by the *commercial system* developed beneath the power of Christian principles, that Britain is destined to achieve its complete and permanent greatness. No other system that the world has seen has ever recognised the equality of all men, and combined due subordination with essential independence, and, therefore, all have failed. However stately their structure, or prolonged their course, each has met some fatal storm, or split upon some rock. The world is strewn with shipwrecks while I write. And some have been ready to ask—Will not a like catastrophe befall our own beloved England? “*Too late,*” wrote Dr. Arnold, “are the words which I should be inclined to affix to every plan of reforming society in this country. We are engulfed, I believe, and must go down the cataract.” A deeper apprehension of the Divine purposes regarding human society would, I venture to say, have mitigated this fear. The feudal machine has gone to pieces, it is true ; oligarchies and despotisms have been overthrown or now totter to their fall ; but the reason of their destruction has been in their untruthfulness to the nature of man and to the laws of God. The arrangements and mechanism of commerce, I repeat, are consistent with both ; and hereon I rest fair hope for the destinies of Britain.

health, and addressed them by the term “young ladies.” Was this affectation ? Not in the least. It had all the appearance of habit ; and certainly in their bearing, dress, the absence of all sluttishness, these females deserved respectful treatment. This will be sneered at by many of our countrymen as a specimen of Yankeeism. Well, be it so ; but let us ask which is the man of breeding, the gentleman?—the boisterous, imperious, swearing John Bull, giving his orders to his servants as if they were his slaves, or the American thus addressing the people who supply the hands, the sinews, the labour (although he may furnish the genius) which are creating his fortune?”—*Dr. Dixon's Methodism in America.*

“And behold, Boaz came from Bethlehem, and said unto the reapers The Lord be with you. And they answered him, The Lord bless thee.”—*The Book of Ruth.*

Sorrowfully, indeed, do I admit the imperfection connected with the working of the system. Nay, it is but too clear that there are evils incident to it, which, unless checked and destroyed, will annihilate it altogether. But of these evils we know the remedy. It is no nostrum, no reconstruction, no communism, but simply the application to the transactions of commerce and the intercourse of classes of the spiritual rule, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." True, there may be now alienation and distrust, nearness without cohesion, connexion without union; but here is the swift electric current that will transform the rope of sand into a cable of infinite elasticity and strength. The particles are already disposed in the right order; or, to change the figure, the framework and limbs of society are arranged in the form in which the Almighty Maker has designed their symmetry and strength to lie; and all we need is, that the body thus fitly compacted and joined together may be animated by the breath of life.

To uphold, then, the commercial system in its integrity, to remove its defects, and secure its efficient mechanical working, I regard as a main duty of every employer: still more, to perform his part in it under the constant remembrance, that he is dealing, as a man, with brother men. Difficulties and discouragements may beset him; but they may all be conquered. He is in the path of Divine Providence; and he needs but a Divine spirit, to serve his generation truly, according to the will of God. Right noble is his commission! His work, in every aspect of it, is worthy of his greatest powers, and his highest acquisitions. Success, in whatever proportion he shall attain it, will be a step towards the last and most glorious victories that the world can know. For, as Carlyle has well said, in language profounder—as we cannot but now, with grief, believe—than he himself could comprehend*—"The leaders of industry are virtually the captains of the world; if there be no nobleness in them, there will never be an aristocracy more."

* 1850.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCHOOL.

EDUCATIONAL discussions have of late been as frequent and as fierce as theological controversies. Three great questions have been mainly debated : first, shall the working classes be instructed at all ? then, to what extent shall this instruction be carried ? and by what agency shall it be imparted ?

Of these questions the first is now settled. All parties have agreed that the poor must be educated. Former opponents of this conclusion can only now endeavour to monopolize and to debase the instruction which they cannot prevent.

The character and extent of the education to be given is a point far more difficult to decide. Most persons, perhaps, would even yet demur, were I to recommend for artizans and ploughmen a liberal course of instruction. School committees and worthy philanthropists take their stand upon reading, writing, elementary arithmetic, Scripture knowledge, with perhaps the catechism and a few hymns ; regarding anything beyond with grave suspicion, if not with open protest. And when some adventurous schoolmaster has broken through the barrier, and his lads, in their public examination, exhibit mathematical accomplishments, grammatical skill, an acquaintance with geography and astronomy, a modicum of physical science, a knowledge of landscape and architectural drawing, concluding it may be with a chorus sung in parts with melody and precision,

men of excellent good sense and generally liberal views, delighted in spite of themselves, will yet be heard very doubtfully to ask to what use all these things will be applied in the workshop or the field.

The question proves too clearly that the science of education in Great Britain is yet in its infancy. A true and comprehensive view of the intent of early instruction would have prevented it altogether. Rightly considered, school education is not the preparation for the business of manhood, but for manhood itself. Its end is not so much the acquisition of knowledge as the formation of right habits, the strengthening of intellect, the cultivation of taste. Now these attainments are desirable for every rank of life; that of the ploughman or the senator, the working carpenter or the working clergyman. The poorest man as well as the richest will be fitted for the duties of life, whatever they may be, in proportion to the strength of his intellect, the refinement of his taste, the purity of his morals. For the poor, therefore, as well as for the rich, is that early training to be claimed which will best contribute to ensure these results. A clear and wide distinction must be taken between *education*, in the sense in which the word is here used, and *apprenticeship*. The latter is the instruction of the artificer, the former the training of the man. Apprenticeship is the preparation for the specific pursuit of after-life, and therefore properly succeeds education, which is the moral preparation for life itself. The manifold varieties of business will cause the one to be infinitely varied, from the statesman's apprenticeship at college to the artizan's at the shop-board. But, on the other hand, as the greatness and the dignity of manhood are ever the same, the early education of all men should be of the same order.

“Of the same *order*” I say; for no doubt it would be absurd to maintain that the school-training of the heir of wealth and of the peasant's child should be *in all* respects precisely identical. But let this difference be placed on its right ground. It must be made, not because similar mental discipline is not needed in either case, but entirely because the one is able to

anticipate a far longer period of instruction than the other. If a ten-years' schooling could be secured for the child of the artizan, there would be no reason why he should not be taken through a course of classics and mathematics, of literature and science; instructed in music, drawing, or such other of the politer accomplishments as his taste and ability might suggest; and made, in short, a complete and well-furnished man. True, as it is, the time cannot be secured, and therefore the course must be contracted. It should, however, be based upon the same principles, and directed to the same result.

The objection that such training would create discontent, and so unfit the workman for his future calling, admits of an easy reply. The individual is no doubt rendered self-sufficient and conceited by being raised above his class; but let the class be elevated with him, and both his superiority and his assumption will vanish. One of the greatest conservatives that ever lived was Dr. Johnson, but upon this subject he said, "Why, sir, now, a man if he has a laced hat thinks himself too good to go to plough; but if all men wore laced hats, we should see men ploughing in laced hats."* If any abstract correspondence existed between certain occupations and certain amounts of mental culture, there would indeed be force in the objection; but as the association which habit has authorized is altogether arbitrary, the conclusion already drawn may be maintained with entire confidence—that, for the sake of his manhood and his happiness, it is important that even the labourer in our fields should possess a well-informed mind and a cultivated taste.

I advocate, then, *good schools* for all classes of the community; schools in which every branch of what is usually known as a liberal education should be pursued. The "National" and "British" systems of popular instruction have had their day. As at present administered, they are wholly unequal to the wants of the age. The former scarcely ever even aims at any high measure of intellectual culture. And when,

* Archbishop Whately. Speech at the Manchester Athenæum, 1845.

here and there, in connexion with the latter, the superior training of an instructor, or the peculiar facilities of a school, offer special advantages, these are, in great part, lost, owing to the wretched waste of time occasioned by the monitorial system. This plan is undoubtedly ingenious, as a choice between evils. But every day proves that, if the younger classes are to be efficiently instructed, or the elder children to make the best use of their time, it must be laid aside. As it is, the first years of school attendance are often all but lost in the reception, and the latter years half wasted in the impartation, of such meagre knowledge as monitors at the best can give. Horace Mann forcibly and truly says: "Under such an energetic and talented teacher as Mr. Crossley, of the Borough-road School in London, or under such men as I found several of the Edinburgh teachers to be, and especially those of the Madras College of St. Andrew's, the monitorial system—where great numbers must be taught at a small expense—may accomplish no inconsiderable good. But at least nine-tenths of all the monitorial schools I have seen would suggest to me the idea that the name 'monitorial' had been given them by way of admonishing the world to avoid their adoption. One must see the difference between the hampering, blinding, misleading instruction given by an inexperienced child, and the developing, transforming, and almost creative power of an accomplished teacher; one must rise to some comprehension of the vast import and significance of the phrase 'to educate;' before he can regard with a sufficiently energetic contempt, that boast of Dr. Bell, 'Give me twenty-four pupils to-day, and I will give you back twenty-four teachers to-morrow!'"* The great excellence of the plan developed in the Government 'Minutes' of 1846-7, is that it seeks to obviate this difficulty by the provision of trained and qualified teachers, in sufficient number for the whole school. Whether we choose to accept this from the State, or not, it is certain that some such arrangement must be made, if our schools are, in any worthy manner, to accomplish their design.

* Educational Tour through Europe.

If these principles are sound, they will assist us somewhat in determining the next great question, as to the order of means by which the education of the working classes shall be supplied.

Now, during the late controversy, few of the contending parties seem to have had leisure or patience so to examine the ground of their strife as to inquire whether the alternative they were so fiercely debating was the only one open to them. On either side it appeared a settled point that schools for the poor must be *eleemosynary*; and the single question was, whether the resources of the State, or the voluntary efforts of the benevolent, should furnish the sustenance. I am not about to re-open the discussion. I would rather move the previous question. On what principle is it that education should be offered, as a gratuity, to the working classes? Wherefore make this an alms any more than another commodity? Is it not of the very essence of pauperism? The industrious classes would scorn the proposal of public subscription or parliamentary grant to cheapen bread or clothing. Why, then, should they be taught to expect the employment of such means to provide instruction for their children? Let these questions be fairly founded, and it will be seen, I am convinced, that we have been beginning at the wrong end, appealing to the public where we ought rather to have sought the parent, and that the whole system of charity schools, at least for the children of the industrious poor, is one vast mistake. Let working people only have their rights, sufficient wages, and a proper, recognised, position in society; let them be made distinctly to see their duty in respect of their offspring, and they will not trouble us either to besiege the Treasury for grants, or to perambulate the country for subscriptions. *

* While revising these sheets for the press, the following remarks of a fellow-townsmen, a working gardener, have met my eye:—

“ National education insults the poor, by telling them that instruction must be forced upon them; it insults employers, as it shows they do not give sufficient wages for the poor to pay for their own education; it

I am not unaware of the instant objection. The poor, it is said, do not value education sufficiently to pay for it. This I utterly question. At any rate, the charge must not be made against them until they have been fairly tested. Some facts that will by-and-by be adduced prove to my mind most decisively, that, if we will only appeal to them as the parties really responsible, and on the ground of their love to their children, their response will not be wanting. Besides, it is certain they will not value education the more from having it furnished altogether or nearly gratis. The carelessness on the matter to which the objector points is fostered by our present mode of going to work. The poor man sees rival philanthropists and competing sects all struggling to secure his child; what more natural for him than to regard them as the parties benefited, and idly to withhold the boon? That parents do not value education as they ought, is an admitted and very deplorable fact. The school accommodation provided in this country exceeds, by a vast and almost incredible proportion, the school attendance. The evil, however, is one which neither Government grants nor voluntary societies can touch. It is scarcely too much to say, that they only enhance the evil that they would remove.

Great blame is often attached to the VOLUNTARY PRINCIPLE for its alleged insufficiency, as proved by the inadequate

insults the clergy and the Established Church, who have received so much for instructing the people, and tells them plainly (and I fear too truly) that they have misapplied it; it is insulting to the nation at large. I cannot but think that if Government were sincere, they could throw down some of those greatest barriers which retard the education of the poor. They would abolish at once the stamp and advertisement duties, and the tax on paper; they would reduce the expenditure, to raise sufficient for which presses so hard upon that class. Let them show their sincerity by removing these obstacles, and, freed from such fetters, the working people will soon convince them that they want no charity food, no charity clothing, no charity fuel, and—last, not least—*no charity education.*”—J. C. O., in the *Supplementary Number to the Working Man's Friend*, March, 1850.

supply of the means of instruction to the working classes. The advocates of the principle are wont to meet the allegation by a triumphant reference to what it has already effected, as though this were unanswerable proof of its power for the mighty task. This line of defence appears rather unwise. The achievements of voluntary effort have, in truth, been great ; but they are not to be compared with the necessities of the case. The land has been covered with school-houses, but it is seldom, indeed, that anything like adequate instruction has been provided. And the most sanguine friends of voluntary education would scarcely dream of ever effecting the provision—so absolutely necessary—of assistants and “pupil teachers” for our schools by such exertions. The schools that depend upon free subscriptions almost everywhere languish in debt, often sink into incompetency ; and though the galvanic effort of one sect or another has raised its hundred thousand pounds, the reflection that the like sum will be required *annually* throws the short-sighted into despair. The friends of “willinghood” can afford to grant all this, and may yet maintain their ground. The voluntary principle is sufficient *for its own proper work*. In attempting more it may partially fail ; but what does this prove against its own intrinsic claims ? And it is no more its business to maintain schools for the working classes, than it is to supply them with furniture, or clothes, or bread.

The repugnance of large classes of those who have been foremost, through evil and through good report, in seeking the education of the people, to government impost for their own most cherished purpose, and the insufficiency of benevolent effort worthily to accomplish it, are two great facts, not to be evaded or explained away. Different parties will comment upon them according to their respective principles ; but in the meantime no party can well deny that, practically, they throw upon the industrious classes the task of providing education for themselves. Unfeignedly do I rejoice in this result. It is a proud thing for England that the problem is given to her. Every year hastens the necessity for both its theoretical solution, and

its practical accomplishment. Meanwhile, I can but give some hints, which may show, that, apart from either state enactment or charitable subscription, there is the best hope for education in our country.

If the remarks made above on the similarity desirable in the early training of all classes, are founded in truth, it will follow that the children of different ranks in society *may meet together in the school-room*. The proposal, it is admitted, is startling to English notions; a thousand evils would be apprehended; but facts already prove the fears to be imaginary; and the public opinion which might at first protest, would, on examination, be found to be little more than a relic of feudal pride. Let the thing be only attempted, and objection would fast disappear. I do not speak at random, as succeeding paragraphs will show.

On the supposition, then, that there is no impropriety in instructing the children of the labourer, of the tradesman, and of professional man in the same school, it will appear manifestly just that the payments should be constructed on a graduated scale, according to the position in society of the parents. * This will be to afford the poor man only his rightful due, without the smallest pauperizing tendency. The fees should be arranged according to the circumstances of the locality, so as fully to support the school, and to give every person who might receive the benefit a fair share of the burden.

This plan, in both its features—the mingling of classes in the school-room, and the graduation of payments according to the rank in life,—*has been tried*, on a necessarily limited scale, but with complete success. The scene of the experiment is a little village, King's Somborne by name, near the town of Stockbridge, in Hampshire. Detailed accounts of the school in that village are to be found in Mr. Moseley's Report, Minutes of Com-

* If thought desirable, the possible offensiveness of such graduation might be prevented by making nominal distinctions in the school-work, such as the use of better copy-books, &c.; for which privilege the higher price should be paid.

mittee of Council on Education for 1847-8, vol. I. ; also in a little pamphlet entitled "Hints on an Improved and Self-paying System of National Education," by the Rev. R. Dawes, A.M. I present a few extracts, chiefly from the former, as being far more cogent than any reasoning on the subject.

"The population of the parish is 1,125, of whom 320 are scattered at distances more or less remote. The occupation of the people is wholly agricultural, the growing of corn, and feeding of sheep. The farms are large ; many of them uniting what used to be two, three, or even four farms, and five or six farmers occupying the whole parish.* The wages of a labourer vary from 6s. to 9s. a week, and the rent of a cottage from £2 10s. to £5 a year. There are no means of employing women or children otherwise than on the farms. There is no squire or other person resident in the place above the condition of the farmer, except the rector.

"Neither is there any indirect influence of non-resident landlords or neighbouring gentry favourable to the schools to account for their success. The exercise of any such influence by the rector himself would be opposed to his view of the principle on which that success depends.

"The national schools consist of—

A Boys' School of.....	92 children, taught by a master and assistant master.
A Girls' School of.....	93 children, taught by a mistress.
An Infants' School of	34 children, taught by a mistress.

—
Making a total of..... 219 children.

"There are, besides, two dame schools in the parish, containing, together, 49 children.

"Of the children who attend the National Schools, there are 53 belonging to other parishes, making a total of 215 of the children of the parish, or more than one-sixth of its population, under education. As somewhat less than one-fourth of the population are probably between 4 and 14, this leaves about

* "A parish in which there were many small farms would offer a much more favourable field for a self-paying system of education."

one-twelfth as the population who ought to be at school and are not.

“The school is wholly self-supporting. The children buy their own books, and their fees pay the salaries of the teachers. No child is admitted to the school free of charge. No arrears of the school fee are allowed. The following is the scale of payments :—For the labourers’ children, 2d. per week for one, and 1d. for every additional child in the same family. For the children of all those above the mere labourer, and whose parents are living in the parish, 6s. ; and for those of a similar class out of the parish, 10s. per quarter.

“The school opened in October, 1842, with 38 children, of whom 11 paid by the quarter. The following table exhibits its subsequent progress :—

		Number of Children.		Paying by the Quarter.		Sum received for fees and books.
To October, 1843,	..	106	..	25	..	£56 17 3
„ „ 1844,	..	110	..	27	..	68 11 7
„ „ 1845,	..	144	..	34	..	84 6 1
„ „ 1846,	..	158	..	36	..	93 5 5
„ „ 1847,	..	219	..	49	..	145 6 6

“The following is a statement of the ages of the children :—

	Boys.	Girls.
Under 6	0	2
6 to 7	14	9
7 to 8	13	12
8 to 9	12	7
9 to 10	13	13
10 to 11	10	11
11 to 12	9	6
12 to 13	10	6
13 to 14	2	6
14 to 15	4	6
15 to 16	1	2
16 to 17	2	2
Total.....	90	82

Average Age..... 10 1-17th years.

“The master and mistress have jointly a salary of £75, with a house and garden. The second master, a youth of 18, educated in the school, has £30 a year.

“It is a characteristic distinction of this from other village schools, that it includes with the children of labourers those of shopkeepers and farmers. It was made up of these classes in the following proportions at my two visits :—

Station.	Per Quarter.	May, 1847.	May, 1848.
Farmers and tradesmen.....	£1 0 0 ..	1 ..	0
„ „	0 10 0 ..	28 ..	30
„ „	0 6 0 ..	19 ..	26
„ „	0 3 0 ..	3 ..	5
	Per Week.		
„ „	3d. ..	0 ..	9
Labourers.....	2d. and 1d. ..	112 ..	136
Sent by trustees of a small fund for education, &c.		0 ..	16
		163	222*

“To this statement Mr. Dawes, the rector, adds :—‘There are none paying £1 a quarter. Some time ago I thought of making a class pay £1, and one boy did so; but doubting the policy of it, I gave it up; and I think I was right.

“‘Of those paying 10s., two are sons of a professional man, who hires a couple of rooms in a farmhouse, and sends a person to take care of them; the rest are children of farmers and tradesmen.

“‘Those paying 3s. per quarter and 3d. per week, are cases where it was thought right to relax the rule as to 6s. a quarter from something peculiar in the case—the father, perhaps, though nominally a tradesman, yet not much better off than the common labourer.

“‘Of those paying 10s., 7 are girls, and 23 boys; of those paying 6s. the numbers are equal, 13 of each.’

“From the preceding table it appears that there are at present in these schools 152 children of agricultural labourers, and 70 of farmers and tradesmen; the last-mentioned being taken, as I understand it, to include shoemakers, tailors, and the like, who in villages work on their own account, but who in towns would probably be journeymen.

* Inclusive of the Infant School. The slight numerical discrepancies in the above accounts must arise from their having been taken at different times.

“When these children belonging to different grades of society stand intermingled in the classes of the schools, I have been unable,” adds the Inspector, “so to distinguish between them as to say which was the farmer’s and which the labourer’s child. Certainly there was nothing in a more intelligent expression of the countenance to mark the difference. The advantages of the farmer’s child in respect to home-culture had been made up to the labourer’s by the school. Notwithstanding that the school offers precisely equal advantages to the children of farmers, tradesmen, and labourers, yet, practically, the first-mentioned class derive the greatest benefit from it: not because the labourers’ children are less capable or less desirous of instruction than the others, but because *they remain a shorter time*. If, therefore, the farmers and tradesmen of King’s Somborne continue to avail themselves of the advantages offered by the school as zealously as they do now, it is no more to be feared that the next generation of labourers should be more in advance of them than the present.

“The popularity of this school is altogether unprecedented. Everywhere else the Inspector is accustomed to be told of the indifference of the poor to the education of their children. Here he finds them manifesting an earnest desire to obtain for them the benefits of it. Agricultural labourers send their children from other parishes from three to four miles daily to the school, and one-seventh of the resident population of the parish daily assembles in it.

“Wherever he goes, the Inspector’s ear is familiar with the complaint that funds for the maintenance of the school are deficient; that the fees are wrung with difficulty from the hands of the parents, who are too poor to pay them; that the landlords and farmers are unwilling to contribute to the school; and that competent teachers cannot therefore be provided, or sufficient in number. Here, in a district where the rate of wages is at least as low as in others, and where if the people be not as poor, it must be due to the operation of moral causes, he finds a self-supporting school, having more than the usual staff of teachers,* adequately paid.

* Two masters, two mistresses, and paid monitors.

“At other schools, one-third of the children are generally absent, and if the fee be insisted upon, the inability of the parents to pay it is generally assigned as a principal reason of this irregularity in the attendance. Here, the payment of the school-fee is strictly enforced, and the average daily attendance is more than eight-ninths of the children on the books.*

“In other schools nothing so discourages the Inspector as the inadequate supply of school books, the injudicious selection of them, and their miserable condition. For all this, the poverty of the school is given as the explanation; and if he is desirous to preserve the character of a discreet man, he will not venture to hint, as a possibility, that the children might be induced to buy proper school-books for themselves. Here he finds every child in possession of as many school-books as it wants, of the best kind, well bound, and in a sound condition, and he finds moreover that the child has purchased them all for itself, the school providing none.

“Elsewhere the early age at which the children leave is spoken of as fatal to the success of the school. Here, although the very goodness of the school has a tendency to produce this result, and does to a certain extent produce it, the parents persuading themselves that their children get to know enough in a good school sooner than in a bad one; there is evidence that a labourer is capable of making for his child the sacrifice of the weekly wages he might earn, † if sent to work, that he may send him to the school.

* In the month of May, 1848, when the hooping-cough was prevalent, the attendance was as follows:—

	On the Books.	Average Daily Attendance.
Boys	92	85
Girls	93	80
Infants	34	30

† “This is no less sacrifice to make at King’s Somborne than in other agricultural parishes, but, on the contrary, a greater; there being a custom of sending the children out to tend cattle in the large fields or open downs, which is in some degree peculiar to the place. Neither are the farmers more disposed to promote the education of the labourer’s children there than elsewhere. They claim them at the earliest

“In other schools, only 23 per cent. of the children remain after they are 11 years of age ; here 32 per cent. In other schools 4 per cent. of the boys and 10 per cent. of girls are above 13 years of age ; here 10 per cent. of the one and 19 per cent. of the other. Here, finally, the average age (10 1-17th. years) of all the children in the school, is nearly that of the monitors in other schools.”*

The contrast between the eleemosynary and the self supporting system is complete. Mr. Moseley accounts for it at length in remarks well worth perusal. We can give but a paragraph or two.

“We break off,” he says, “a fragment from our own education, and give it to the poor man’s child in charity. We consult neither his judgment in the matter nor his independence. We have no faith in his affection for his child, nor in his willingness to make sacrifice for its welfare ; and thus we give him no encouragement to make them, and scarcely an opportunity.

“If an elementary education had failed of its results ; if we find the poor but little benefited by our schools, careless of sending their children to them, and ready to take them away on the least chance of profitable employment ; let us remember that they have themselves had no voice in the matter ; that in the instruction we offer to their children, the springs of opinion among them have never been considered, nor their wants consulted.

“The King’s Somborne school was commenced in the exercise of abundant faith in the affection of a labouring man for his children ; and notwithstanding that the wages of labour in

available age for what is called bird-starving, pig watching, &c. There is no occupation, however slight, which does not stand in their estimation before the school, and they look upon their further education after they are able to go to work, as an unjust deprivation of their labour, and an unwarrantable interference with the privileges of their own children.”

* “The average of 3,756 boys in 46 schools in the Midland Districts was from 6 5-8, to 8 6-8 years, and of 2,301 girls, in 33 schools, from 7 1-8, to 9 1-7 years.”

the parish are very low, the school fee was fixed at double that of the neighbouring schools, under the impression that he would be willing to pay more than is usually claimed of him, for what he believed to be a really good and useful education, and that the higher fee would tend to create this belief in his mind.

“Who are to be considered farmers, and to pay the highest fee, and who tradesmen and labourers, Mr. Dawes claims the right himself to decide, * but all are placed within the walls of the school on terms of equality; they are intermingled in their seats, and in the classes in which they are taught; and precisely the same advantages of instruction are offered to all.”†

* “A difference of opinion sometimes arises on this point, but the estimation of the school with the people carries it over every difficulty. A master shoemaker, for instance, who took his children away from the school because he was not permitted to pay the fee of a labourer, and kept them away two years, declaring that he could be as obstinate as Mr. Dawes, has recently sent them back.”

† While revising these pages, my attention has been called by my esteemed friend, the Rev. H. Addiscott, to an experiment somewhat similar to that of Mr. Dawes, at Plaistow, in Essex, under the superintendence of the Rev. John Curwen. The expedient by which the terms of payment are graduated may, by many, be thought superior to the plan of the Hampshire rector. Subscriptions, it will also be seen, are received from the public, although the school is much less dependent upon them than is generally the case in our popular schools. The rules relating to terms are as follow:—

“1. For those pupils, in the juvenile school, *whose parents wish to feel themselves independent of the subscriptions*, ten shillings a quarter, or one shilling a week, paid in advance; and for those in the infant school, five shillings a quarter, or sixpence a week, paid in advance.

“2. For a single child in the infants' school, *aided by the subscriptions*, twopence a week; and for each additional child in the same family, one penny a week.

“3. For a girl in the juvenile school, *aided by the subscriptions*, threepence a week.

“4. For a boy in the juvenile school, *aided by the subscriptions*, fourpence a week.

“5. For a boy or girl in the upper division of the juvenile school,

After reading all the above, we can but wonder that application has been made by the manager of this school, and successfully, for aid from the Treasury under the Minutes of 1846-7.

aided by the subscriptions, five shillings a quarter, or sixpence a week, paid in advance.

“No pupils can be permanently admitted to pay the lower fees which are aided by the subscriptions, without the sanction of the ladies’ committee. It is left, however, to the discretion of the teachers to receive such pupils, until their cases can be laid before the next monthly meeting of the committee.”

The following excellent address to parents is circulated:—

“‘The parent and the schoolmaster,’ says the author of ‘Fireside Education,’ ‘should go hand-in-hand. There should be mutual confidence, mutual aid, and hearty co-operation. *It is the imperative duty of every parent to take a deep interest in the school where his children are taught.*’ It is confidently hoped that the Plaistow public schools will be cordially supported by the parents whose children they benefit. Careful and constant attention to the following points is earnestly requested:—

“1. **REGULAR AND PUNCTUAL ATTENDANCE.**—A pupil entering his class after the time, not only distracts the attention and breaks the order of the class, but also loses much of the lesson himself, and commences his work in a state of mind unfavourable to success. A pupil who is irregular in his attendance cannot make progress, and his teacher cannot do justice to his education. A sufficient reason must be given for late attendance, and nothing but illness or some other absolute necessity will be accepted as an excuse for absence.

“2. **PREPARATION OF LESSONS.**—Some of the pupils have to learn short lessons at home; and as this habit of studying alone is most important to their progress in knowledge, it is earnestly hoped that parents will give their children every facility for this purpose, and not only allow them leisure for learning their lessons, but take care that the lessons are learnt well.

“3. **THE BOOKS, SLATES, AND COPYBOOKS,** used in the school, are purchased by the children. As soon as a new book is needed by a pupil, a notice is sent to the parents mentioning the title, and price of the book. If it is not convenient to pay the full price at once, small weekly payments may be made until the sum is made up. The pupil is then, and not till then, allowed to take the book home. The books are provided on the lowest terms. It will easily be seen that much hindrance

Where could be the necessity? Would that the noble-minded rector of King's Somborne had himself manifested that perfect faith in his own plans which he cannot but have excited in the mind of all his readers! The moral power of the experiment is henceforth weakened. But be it recollected that all the above details relate to the period during which the school, without any adventitious aid, has been strictly self-reliant.

It should be added that the field of labour was at first most unpromising. It is something to say that it is a rural parish in Hampshire; but more than this, Mr. Dawes found it thoroughly demoralized by the operation of the old poor-law, "the opprobrium of the country round." What, then, might not be done in our more enlightened districts—our large towns? Less, some would say, as far as regards the union of different classes, owing to the great number of private schools for the children of tradesmen and professional men. We reply, that these members of the community are as tenderly alive to the advantages of goodness and cheapness in the matter of education as any others. If our proposed public schools provided a better article at a lower rate than private academies, they would undoubtedly be preferred. The evil effects of the meeting of children in large numbers would be obviated at once by the maintenance of strict discipline. Even now, the great reason why parents among the middle

will arise to the progress of their children, if parents do not cheerfully and promptly supply them with the necessary books.

"4. COMPLAINTS.—The teachers will readily investigate any matters of reasonable complaint; and it is only justice to the school that parents should speak to the teachers on such subjects, before expressing any opinion either to the children who complain or to others."

FIVE YEARS have proved the complete success of the plan. The number of children has increased from 25 to nearly 200. And so many parents have chosen to "feel themselves independent of the subscriptions," that "the last quarter's payments in the Juvenile School," I am informed, "rather *exceeded* the master's quarter's salary."

It may be added, that in the "Juvenile School" boys and girls are taught together under one master (with assistants), a plan which has been found altogether advantageous. 1850.

classes will not send their children to our British and "National" schools, is, that, owing of course to the insufficient supply of teachers, good order and propriety of demeanour cannot be effectually enforced. We could name schools where, as it is, this objection is not strong enough to deter such parents from availing themselves of the advantages offered, so far superior to those of any private school in the vicinity.

It has before been said that the course of instruction should be liberal. At King's Somborne, in addition to the ordinary branches of national school instruction, all taught in very superior style, algebra, geometry, and the elements of physical science, with drawing and music,* are included in the school course. This should be about the usual standard. Sometimes even the early stages of classical study might be added. Higher attainments in classics and mathematics would generally, if not always, be reserved for the teaching of the universities, the colleges, and those other seminaries in which those who are destined for a literary or professional life may be said to pass the term of their *apprenticeship* in distinction from that of their *education*. These youths, even if they spent their earlier

* "I have no doubt," says Mr. Moseley, "that the singing of the children is among the most pleasurable recollections of those persons who have visited the King's Somborne School. Occasionally the singing-classes are assembled in the evening in the class-room, and the singing through of the pieces of music they have learned makes a village concert, to which some of the friends of the school are admitted. I was present on one of these evenings. The programme was as follows:—SACRED: 'Sound the loud timbrel;' 'From Greenland's icy mountains;' 'O'er the gloomy hills of darkness;' 'Before Jehovah's awful throne;' 'There is a happy land;' 'All hail the power of Jesu's name;' 'Sweet is the work;' 'Come to the sunset tree;' 'I saw the glorious sun arise.' SECULAR: 'Hark! the merry hum;' 'As forth I walked;' 'Welcome, May;' 'The Violet;' 'Long may life and health;' 'Harvest home;' 'Children go;' 'Rule, Britannia;' 'God save the Queen.' Singing is no task to these children; music has found its way to their hearts. Several of the pieces were certainly executed with remarkable firmness and precision; and all not less to the satisfaction of the farmers and village tradesmen (who, together with Mr. and Mrs. Dawes and myself, formed the audience) than to mine."

years in the proposed public schools, would generally be removed at a younger age than other pupils, in order to be transferred to such seminaries. The great majority of middle-class scholars, however, would remain until the conclusion of their course. The upper forms would be composed almost exclusively of these, for their poorer companions would necessarily have been removed before. At the same time every school would present the spectacle of some gifted lad in humble life, supported there by the hard earnings of his admiring parents, outstripping his wealthier competitors in the race, and winning the honours and rewards of intellect. Scotland has teemed with such instances. England would abound with them too, if fair opportunity were but given. They are a nation's glory! Only let it be understood, that they are to be the exceptions, that an intellectual training is not, as a matter of course, to open the way to a lot above that of humble labour; but that, though here and there a child of genius may attain a superior, or even an illustrious station, most who are born to work can only expect to remain in the lowlier conditions of life—not spurning the duties of their vocation because their minds are familiar with higher thoughts, but thankful that these thoughts have been given them, to uplift their spirits, and to dignify their toil.

There is a manifest difficulty with regard to the *provision of schoolhouses*, and the *training of teachers*. These things, clearly, cannot be effected by those who would receive the benefit of the instruction. To accomplish them, societies and committees would still appear needful. I see nothing inconsistent with the principles already laid down, in the maintenance by the public of training colleges and normal schools, or the establishment, by the voluntary subscriptions of a neighbourhood, of school buildings, with the necessary apparatus of instruction.

In the normal school, however, it would undoubtedly be desirable that the future master or mistress should be expected to bear a proportion in the expense of training for the scholastic work. This would not often be a hard requirement. When

once the capability of a youth for the teacher's office was made manifest, even if he could not himself meet the charges of the training college, friends would in general be found able and quite willing to assist. It is on this principle that several Christian denominations now train their youths for the ministry, and it is very seldom found that the poor lad anxious for a place in the college is unable to procure the needful funds. Scholarships and exhibitions, too, would often be established, to assist the most deserving in their studies. Besides, it must be remembered that, in the plan I have advocated, the qualification, and therefore the rank, of the educator would be raised. The office would no longer be the refuge of the needy, or the resource of the incompetent. The teacher's maintenance would be free from all suspicion of mendicancy. He must of necessity be an accomplished man. It is more than probable, therefore, that many might seek the post who would not need to appeal either to the generous public or to generous friends to support them during the preliminary course. The Christian ministry furnishes an apt analogy again.

The instruction of the training school must be thoroughly collegiate. It must aim high. The idea must be altogether dissipated, to which so many teachers expectant and school-committees seem to cling, that "training" is some magical process by which in three, or six, or twelve months, a half-taught stripling can be transformed into a perfectly-qualified instructor of youth. The point which, to do them justice, the managers of the Borough-road Seminary, of St. Mark's College, and even of the Battersea School, endeavour, though almost hopelessly, to attain, must be invariably kept in view, and the imprimatur of the Normal School conferred on none but really well-educated youth.

The other point mentioned, the erection of school-houses, might in perhaps most cases be effected by voluntary subscription. Indeed there are many rooms now in existence, the trustees of which would only be too happy to see them occupied by schools such as have been proposed. In some instances,

again, the schools might be *proprietary*. There are neighbourhoods in which they would undoubtedly prove an excellent investment. On the whole, the difficulty would not often be very great. A local committee, constituted according to the circumstances of the school, would regulate, visit, superintend, and attend to the details of management—a far worthier employment, it will be confessed, than the endless task of discussing financial difficulties and stimulating reluctant subscribers.

The weightiest difficulty of all remains. What *religious teaching* should be given? Briefly, I would reply, let the local board of managers decide. The secular education above described might either be left free from all theological admixture, or incorporated with theological instruction in any form and to any extent, according to the will of the committee of the school. Let Coleridge, or Jackson, or Crossley, send the teacher, only let the secular instruction be broad and liberal; it is all I contend for. No national system of religious education is at present possible. Voluntary or compulsory, it matters not; if theological, it will not be catholic; if religious, it must be sectarian. For my own part, I avow, I would fain see our public schools free from connexion with any sect. The Established Church, in claiming to train the intellect of the country, has set an example which it is melancholy to see any denomination, in any fashion, attempt to follow. Every movement in the direction of sectarianism—every *new* movement, especially—is most strongly to be deprecated. The brightest sign of the times is, that the free and profound thought that is among us is tending all the other way. The Congregational Board of Education, and similar bodies, have, I know, been originated mainly in self-defence. They would “beat the foe with his own weapons”—the worst of principles when the weapons themselves are bad! Surely it is better, at all hazards, to assert the catholic against the exclusive, than to array one exclusiveness against another. Nevertheless it is impossible to prescribe. In some districts, undoubtedly, the sects would, under any system, appropriate and monopolize

the school. In some, again, rival schools would be set up. But in others I believe that religious men would say to each other—"The Church is too much weakened by our divisions; the school shall at least be one. Enough for us that we have Episcopal, Congregational, and Wesleyan chapels. We will not further inscribe these denominational names over our day-schools. We have no notion of Independent arithmetic, Methodist mathematics, Episcopalian grammar, or Baptist geography! Let us keep our differences in the proper place, and strive to work together."

Let me not be thought to undervalue the religious element. For Christian influence to lose its hold upon the minds of our youth would be a grievous calamity. I know and avow, as earnestly as can any man, that all education should be religious. All life should be religious too, our business and our pleasure as much as our worship. But the man who, on the strength of this, would treat his customers to texts of Scripture across the counter, or invite a pic-nic party to discuss theology, would incur great risk of being thought a hypocrite. The intermingling of religiousness with all we do must be in a very different style from this. It is much the same in schools. A religious daily education* is not that in which theological doctrines are constantly and sedulously instilled, so much as that in which regard to the high principles of the Gospel is embodied in every act, so that the pupils may feel—as Dr. Arnold's felt—that a real, earnest work is going on, and that a holier spirit pervades all the intercourse between teacher and taught, than any lesson could embody, or any form of words express. In a word, the instructor may teach *religiously*, without teaching *religion*. Even the point to which many catholic-spirited Christian men restrict their desires, that the Bible should be employed as a school-book, seems to me of very questionable propriety. It is certain that, without great care, this common use of the Word of God, will create

* It is almost unnecessary to remind the reader that *day-school* education alone is the present topic. A boarding-school is, in fact, a *family*, and must be regulated by family laws and principles.

an irreverent familiarity with sacred themes, far too dearly purchased by the additional scriptural knowledge that may possibly be secured. I have known and visited many Bible day-schools, but I never saw one in which this evil did not exist to a lamentable degree.*

The Lancashire Public School Association proposes to introduce as a class-book, a collection of Scripture extracts, agreed on by "the representatives of nine different denominations." It is clear, however, that this could in no sense make the instruction distinctively religious. The compilation could be no more at the best than a historical manual, or a moral class-book. The truths and doctrines of Christianity would be absolutely left out of the school course. But this would not be to exclude it from the spirit of the teacher, or of his instructions. A truly religious schoolmaster, administering this, or any other secular system, would be far more influential for good, than the routine teachers of religion we so often find in our Bible schools. Nay, we see this every day. Few, indeed, are the classical and commercial schools for the middle classes, in which Bible lessons are intermixed with Livy and Thucydides, with Euclid and De Morgan; yet who calls these semi-

* The opinion of the Rev. Dr. Davidson, of Manchester, on this point is well worth consideration. He says: "It has always appeared to me that true religion has about it something so sacred and reverential as to demand a corresponding treatment. The Bible, claiming to be a Divine book, should be read and explained with a veneration befitting its origin. It is difficult, however, if not impossible, to do this amid the noise of a daily school. There the Sacred Volume soon comes to be looked on by the scholars as an ordinary book. It is associated with lessons, perhaps with disagreeable tasks that tax the memory. *Insensibly*, it may be, and *gradually*, it takes its place virtually in the eyes of the pupils along with any other volume of varied contents. Amid the dust and drudgery of a common school, it does not retain long any hallowed association. It is put into the list of the lesson-books, and comes round in the dull routine. Hence many carry away the most disagreeable recollections of it from the public school. Their memory associates it with feelings of irksomeness. They do not turn to it with pleasure in after life. They have a sort of aversion to it. Such is the effect of making the Bible an ordinary school-book." 1850.

naries "godless?" Who does not know that their conductors often exercise an untold amount of right and holy influence over their pupils' minds, even though no direct word on the subject of religion may be spoken from morning to night? Wherefore should a different rule be applied to schools for the working classes? No doubt, on the "secular" plan, the religious tone of the school would be much at the mercy of the teacher; but this is no more than must after all be said with respect to the "scriptural" plan. The supply of right-principled, religious instructors, would probably be altogether as great under the former system, as under the latter. For the qualifications of a successful teacher of youth are so high, and so closely connected with the moral and spiritual character, that few irreligious men could ever possess them.

It would be impossible, however, to lay down any general rule. On the self-supporting plan above indicated there would no doubt be sectarian and non-sectarian, scriptural and secular schools. Each to a great extent would help on the same good work. Some rivalry there would doubtless be; but let none claim ascendancy, and the enterprise might be conducted without strife.

It may be asked by practical men, what steps I would propose to take for the first establishment of these self-paying schools. The enterprise, I would reply, primarily demands men who would thoroughly believe in it, manfully take it up, and steadily work at it. Let these but be found, and the will will make the way. As a matter of detail, it may be assumed that there are at least some schools in connexion with the two great educational societies, whose masters would be fully qualified to impart all the instruction needful, and whose committees, embarrassed and discouraged by the difficulty of obtaining the requisite support, would not be unwilling to try the experiment. In connexion with such schools, let it be announced that their eleemosynary character was about to cease, that their course of instruction was to be extended, and that children from the middle classes would be admitted at a graduated scale of fees. The precise amount cannot, of course,

be stated. It would vary in every neighbourhood. One pound per quarter might be the maximum, and the old rate of twopence a week reserved for the very poorest. For if the rural labourers of Hampshire, out of their weekly nine shillings, pay this latter sum so cheerfully, the artizans of our larger towns might certainly consent to a higher tax. Only let it be understood that the labourer is himself paying for his child's education—that he is wholly independent of any charitable fund—and we may trust the rest to his manliness and parental love. School-books should be purchased by the children themselves. More expensive apparatus, as maps and scientific apparatus, would, doubtless, be often presented by wealthy friends of the school.*

If the education were really superior, the plan would soon succeed. True, the "scholastic profession" would protest; but it would not be for long. Incompetency would, no doubt, be very speedily exposed and driven out of the arena; but who could complain of this? Those private teachers of day-schools, on the other hand, who were able to maintain a competition, in the quality of the instruction supplied, with the masters of the new public schools, would have nothing to fear. There would be ample room for both, and the rivalry would secure the excellence of each.

The way would thus be led, by a few transformed "British" and "National" schools. Their success would be a manifest thing before the whole country. And so, if I am not too sanguine, a movement would commence which would at once open the prospect of a national self-supporting system of education, and contribute more to promote friendly intercourse between the different classes of society, to remove jealousy and ill-will, and to strengthen the bond of true brotherhood, than any enterprise our generation yet has seen.

There is a class, however, quite apart from the ranks of the industrious, for which a special provision must be made.

* Mr. Dawes, however, tells us that at King's Somborne "of a set of small maps, 6d. each, published by Betts in the Strand, sixty-three were bought in a very few weeks, and a very considerable number since."

These are the unhappy outcasts, spoken of in a previous chapter as weltering in one sediment of wretchedness and vice at the basis of society in all our large towns. Now, we cannot apply to them, in any measure, the principles by which we would urge the honest toiling worker to seek the education of his children. The public-school system above developed would be nothing to them. It is idle to talk to them of equality; we must go to them as the good Samaritan. Here philanthropy finds its congenial scope, and Christian willingness its most appropriate work. The RAGGED SCHOOL is the educational hospital. Well said Lord Ashley, that the very life of these institutions was in their voluntary character. I need not now speak a single word on the necessity for these benevolent labours; that has been done again and again. "The cry did knock against our very heart." Seldom has there been so hearty and unanimous a response. The object has been to lay hold of the heathens and criminals of tenderest years who swarm around us, and bring them, by any means, within the influence of intellectual and spiritual culture. The Sunday's gathering, with its simple appeals, its elementary instruction, its vociferous psalmody, has led the way. But all promoters of the enterprise are now agreed that this is not enough. The week-day must not be suffered to undo what the Sabbath has begun. Hence have sprung up industrial schools, where juvenile thieves and vagabonds sit decorously, transformed to tailors and shoemakers—daily asylums where means of cleanliness and subsistence are provided, while unwearied teachers repeat the very alphabet of truth. The success in civilizing, even in Christianizing, these poor Pariahs, is wonderful. Aberdeen stands prominent in these holy achievements. Alone of all our great towns, it reported an amazing decrease, in 1848, of juvenile delinquency; and the reason officially given is, the efficiency of the Industrial and Ragged Schools.*

* "The statistics of the Aberdeen prison show that one-third of the decrease of committals during the year have taken place amongst juvenile prisoners not exceeding twelve years of age. The decrease of this class

The topic scarcely relates to the working classes, as the enterprise concerns those who have left their ranks, and is an effort to reinstate them there. I mention it partly for the purpose of drawing an important distinction. *Industrial Schools* are only appropriate for those who have fallen below the worker's station. To them the all-important thing is to provide some immediate means of gaining a livelihood. To develop the entire man, in proper order, there is no time. With the youth of the industrious classes the case is different. There, the true principle is: Education first, Apprenticeship afterwards. The success of industrial "ragged" schools has suggested to some the propriety of introducing handicraft employments into the ordinary scholastic training of the children of the poor. If, however, the principles of the earlier part of this chapter are true, the attempt must be most strongly deprecated. Let the intellectual and moral powers first be developed; then let the business of life be assumed.

Many opportunities would occur in the after-life of the busiest artisan to follow, as a recreation, any favourite school pursuit. I see not why there should not be on the shelf of one cottage a Horace and a Homer; on that of another a Carpenter's Physiology, or a Peschel's Physics; why one workman should not boast his *hortus siccus*, and another his entomological collection.* Such pursuits, properly conducted,

of criminals, viz., those aged ten years and under, has been remarkable. There were committed in 1843, 53; 1844, 41; 1845, 49; 1846, 28; 1847, 27; 1848, 19. The change is attributed to the effect of the Ragged Schools."—*Nonconformist*, March 7, 1849.

* "There is a class of men in Manchester, unknown even to many of the inhabitants, and whose existence will probably be doubted by many, who yet may claim kindred with all the noble names that science recognises. I said in Manchester, but they are scattered all over the manufacturing districts of Lancashire. In the neighbourhood of Oldham there are weavers, common hand-loom weavers, who throw the shuttle with unceasing sound, though 'Newton's Principia' lies open on the loom, to be snatched at in work-hours, but revelled over in meal-times or night. Mathematical problems are received with interest, or studied with absorbing attention, by many a broad-spoken, common-looking

would steal no time from the main business of life, and would provide a constant source of recreation when daily work was done.

MECHANICS' INSTITUTIONS and PEOPLE'S COLLEGES will be useful here. The former might be established in every village. Let working men unite, first, to purchase a few

factory head. It is perhaps less astonishing that the more popularly interesting branches of natural history have their warm and devoted followers among this class. There are botanists among them equally familiar with either the Linnæan or the natural system; who know the name or habit of every plant within a day's walk from their dwellings; who steal the holiday of a day or two when any particular plant should be in flower, and tying up their simple food in their pocket-handkerchiefs, set off with the single purpose of bringing home the humble-looking weed. There are entomologists who may be seen with a rude-looking net, ready to catch any winged insect, or a kind of dredge with which they rake the green slimy pools; practical, shrewd, hard-working men, who pore over every new specimen with real scientific delight. Nor is it the common and more obvious divisions of entomology and botany that alone attract these earnest seekers of knowledge. Perhaps it may be owing to the great annual town holiday of Whitsun-week so often falling in May or June that the two great families of Ephemeridæ and Phryganidæ have been so much and closely studied by Manchester workmen, while they have in a great measure escaped general observation. If you will refer to the preface of Sir J. E. Smith's life (I have it not by me, or I would copy the exact passage), you will find that he names a little circumstance corroborative of what I have said. Being on a visit to Roscoe, of Liverpool, he made some inquiries from him as to the habitat of a very rare plant, said to be found in certain places in Lancashire. Mr. Roscoe knew nothing of the plant; but stated that if any one could give him the desired information it would be a hand-loom weaver in Manchester, whom he named. Sir J. E. Smith proceeded by boat to Manchester, and on arriving at that town he inquired of the porter who was carrying his luggage if he could direct him to so and so. 'Oh yes,' replied the man, 'he does a bit in my way;' and on further investigation it turned out that both the porter and his friend the weaver were skilful botanists, and able to give Sir J. E. Smith the very information which he wanted. Such are the tastes and pursuits of some of the thoughtful, little understood, working men of Manchester." —*Mary Barton*, page 55.

books such as their respective tastes might suggest; let them meet once a week for an hour's conversation on some topic previously agreed upon; let them seek an occasional lecture from the clergymen or other *literati* of the neighbourhood; and an excellent beginning is made. Many such institutions flourish in nooks and byeways of our land where no one would ever suspect their existence, holding their weekly *conversazione* in some humble cottage, and now and then obtaining the village school-room as a lecture-hall. In towns these institutes are of greater pretension. Much, however, is it to be lamented that they so frequently degenerate into mere reading-rooms for the middle classes. True, we would not exclude these classes. We would have all ranks meet in our literary institutions as in our public schools. Still there ought to be special adaptation to the position and the wants of working-men. Terms of subscription should be graduated; the lower payment, however, conferring no more than a nominal superiority in privilege. Classes for instruction should be formed, easily accessible; discussions should be freely permitted; lectures should be frequent; and both the great moral and social questions of the day ought manfully to be brought forward. This last particular appears of great importance. Such questions will be debated by all thinking men. Their place is foremost, both in the interest they excite, and in their own intrinsic value. They involve great principles, far beyond the range of merely party politics. The fittest place, therefore, for their consideration, would seem to be the hall dedicated to thought, reason, and intellectual progress. Far better debate them there than in the political club or the noisy tap-room. The rigorous exclusion of such discussions from the literary platform has tended more than anything else to vulgarise them. True, if permitted, there would be danger of their sinking into mere party controversies; but wisdom and caution on the part of the managers, would, in most cases, effectually check the evil. Much quoted is the line, "The proper study of mankind is man." Let the study of man, therefore—in his moral, his social, and even his religious nature,—find a place in our literary

institutions ; not, indeed, to supplant other sciences, but to claim its rank among them as the greatest of all.* This advantage would at least result, that multitudes of our working men would be attracted, to hear congenial subjects discussed in a free and enlarged spirit, and thus brought to look with distaste upon the coarse and narrow-minded style of treating them with which, in other scenes, they have become but too familiar.

It may be added that the mechanics' institution will often afford an admirable opportunity for connecting with it a public school such as in previous sections has been described.†

* I happen to have by me the syllabus of a quarter's lectures in connexion with the Poplar Working Men's Mental Improvement Association. It furnishes a good illustration of the class of subjects referred to. The subscription, by the way, to lectures, library, and reading-room, is one shilling a quarter :—

“ Tuesday, June 29. Public Meeting.

- „ July 6. Lecture : Thomas Hood and his Poetry.
- „ „ 13. Discussion : Communism.
- „ „ 20. Lecture : Life of Andrew Marvel.
- „ „ 27. Discussion : Communism (continued).
- „ Aug. 3. Lecture : The Philosophy of Health.
- „ „ 10. Discussion : The Food Monopoly.
- „ „ 17. Lecture : Books and Reading.
- „ „ 24. Discussion : Machinery.
- „ „ 31. Lecture : Life and Times of Cicero.
- „ Sept. 7. Discussion : The Currency.
- „ „ 14. Lecture and Discussion : National Education.
- „ „ 21. Discussion : The Non-resistance Principle.
- „ „ 28. Lecture : Sensation.

“ To commence at eight o'clock.”

† The Liverpool Mechanics' Institution comprises evening schools, a lower day school, a high school, a girls' school, and an infant school. The instruction in all is first-rate. To the first the annual subscription of £1 1s. admits, as well as to the privileges of a library containing 13,000 volumes, to a reading-room where six quarterly and twenty-three monthly periodicals are taken, and to lectures of the highest order twice a week. To the lower day school, the children of members are admissible at a charge of £3 per annum, including books ; to the high school

The PEOPLE'S COLLEGE is in many points akin to the Mechanics' Institute. It differs from the latter chiefly in its being of a more directly scholastic character. In place of mutual instruction it adopts professional teaching, and comprehends, in fact, the subjects usually embraced in a school or college course. The students are working men, who snatch an hour to attend before the commencement of their daily toil, and perhaps another after its close. No plan can be simpler, none more efficacious. No expensive machinery is required; nothing but the services, sometimes of a minister, generally of school teachers, who are willing to add another daily hour to their work, and to practise a slight measure of self-denial. With such aid a people's college might speedily be established in every town in the kingdom.

I subjoin a syllabus of the week's course (in winter time) in one of these colleges, obligingly furnished by the Rev. R. S. Bayley, the gifted founder of the system.

QUEEN-STREET INSTITUTE.

RATCLIFF.

Days.	Morning Classes. all at seven, a.m.	Evening Classes.
Monday	Latin Class	{ Reading, seven o'clock. Writing, seven. Drawing, eight. Grammar, half-past eight.
Tuesday	Greek Class	{ Arithmetic, seven. French, quarter-past eight. Geography, half-past eight. Composition, half-p. eight.
Wednesday	Mathematics	{ Reading, seven. Writing, seven. Gen. Lecture, half-p. eight.

at from £6 to £12; to the girl's school at £5; to the infant school at £2 2s. Prizes and exhibitions are most liberally given. Perhaps this institution presents the finest example in the kingdom of a self-supporting education of a very superior kind at an insignificant cost. The chief defect seems to be that there is no graduation in the payments for the accommodation of mechanics, few of whom, without hard striving, could gain for their children the advantages of the day schools. The consequence is, that the middle classes are chiefly, though I admit not exclusively, benefited.

Morning Classes. all at seven, a.m.		Evening Classes.
Thursday.....	French Class	{ Arithmetic, seven. Elocution, half-past eight. Mathematics, half-p. eight. German, quarter-past eight.
Friday	German Class	{ Arithmetic, seven. Writing, seven. Reading, seven. History, half-past eight.
Saturday.....	Logic Class	{ Phonography, seven. Scientific Class, seven. Singing, half-past eight.

The following classes will be commenced so soon as the President can make the necessary arrangements:—HEBREW, MORAL PHILOSOPHY, NAVIGATION, and ALGEBRA.

FEES.—Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic Class 6d. a week.

Attendance at *any* classes, exclusive of French, } 8d. „
German, and Drawing..... }

Attendance at *all* the Classes 12d. „

Nothing has been said, distinctively, of the education of *women*. The same principles, though somewhat differently developed, will still hold good. The self-supporting plan would be equally appropriate. The evening school and the collegiate class would afterward supply instruction both useful and becoming. False shame and empty ridicule would no doubt obstruct the way. But in spite of them, it is most important that the daughters, wives, and mothers of the working people should possess cultivated and dignified minds. In all classes the reproach of “blue-stocking” is fast becoming obsolete. It is understood that a well-read woman need not be a pedant, any more than a well-read man.” * To working men it is especially needful that home should possess those attractions which only the presiding care of a rightly-trained and intelligent helpmeet can secure. Many an artizan of cultivated mind has been repelled into intellectual dissipation, and as a natural consequence, into grovelling vice, by this utter lack of companionship and sympathy in the partner of his life.

* The “Queen’s College Lectures” are doing a good work that will speedily extend its influence far below the classes for which that admirable institution is in the first place designed. 1850.

Then the harm inflicted on *Childhood* by the low standard of female education is untold.

It may safely be foreseen that the objections which may be made to the principles advocated in this chapter will relate rather to their immediate practicability than to their theoretical soundness. Of the number and weight of these objections I am not ignorant, though some may seem to have been left unanswered. The time is not ripe, it will be said, for the experiment. A standard argument this, and one that has been successively levelled against all reforms that have ever been proposed in this most inert world! The times are always ripe enough, says Dr. Arnold, for what a true and earnest man will dare to do. At any rate the way to make them ripe is to attempt at once, in the best method that presents itself, whatever principle and duty dictate; and the same hour that witnesses the ripeness of the times will also reveal that the thing is done. A course of action which steadily embodies a true principle must in the end succeed. I admit that the enlarged education contended for is in some respects incompatible with the present position of the labouring classes. Chiefly as a means of raising that position do I urge it. Its adoption would not only elevate the labourer's mind and render him better fit for manly toil, but would teach to masters a useful lesson too. It might help them to discern in those who minister to their wealth every essential element of mental strength and dignity, might abate somewhat of the pride of station, and prove with a demonstrative power no haughtiness could resist that God hath made all men brethren. The consummation would not come at once. In many quarters insurmountable difficulties might for a while prevent the very earliest steps. But the work, if wise and right, commenced in feebleness, would advance to strength. By-and-by the politician, the philanthropist, the Christian, might all cease to despair of education in England. And without any dead machinery of system, and far apart from the contracted labours of sectarianism, we should speedily see the means provided that would result in a well-instructed, and therefore a free, noble-minded, and independent people.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CHURCH.

THE last chapter was avowedly confined to the topic of secular instruction, for children and adults. Such teaching, however, at the best, will be ineffectual for the great purposes of life, unless combined throughout with religious education. I have not scrupled to say, that I do not believe direct scriptural instruction to be the business of the day-school. This is the especial work for which God has hallowed the Sabbath and organized the Church. Not that such teaching is to be confined to the day of rest, or to the house of prayer. Let those to whom it belongs take advantage of every place and opportunity for carrying on the work. Let it everywhere be conducted as the greatest object of life—controlling all other aims—sanctioning every other worthy and elevating influence, while it enthrones itself upon them all.

High and beautiful is the ideal, thus considered, of the Christian Church. It is the kingdom of God on earth; ordained to be the model of what it strives and prays that the whole world may become. The task of its ministers is to proclaim to all men their one glorious heritage; to reveal the presence of God himself in every scene of lowliness and toil; to show forth at once the humility and the glory of our common nature; in our great Father's name to beseech us first to

be reconciled to Him, then to love one another ; and, after the very pattern of the Redeemer, to speak with intensest sympathy and profoundest truth of every duty, and privilege, and hope, which unites us to our brethren, or uplifts us toward our God—which hallows earth and discloses heaven.

Such a church, most surely, and such a proclamation, would impress and win the world. How much more those who need its counsel and its comfort most, the children of want and toil ! But is it so ? I am told that the native depravity of the heart prevents it. Yet were those depraved who so earnestly pressed around the Saviour's footsteps, and tearfully marvelled at his gracious words. For "the common people heard HIM gladly ;" and they would hear his followers gladly, too, if his followers but spake like Him.

In proportion as the Church exhibits the truth and the spirit of Christ, it will be successful in winning the hearts of men. If there is any lack of power, if any class of the community is alienated, there must be in the Church itself some grievous fault. The inquiry, therefore, upon which I would now enter becomes of vast and solemn interest. What is the position of the Church with respect to the working classes of our land ? To what extent have Christian influences a hold upon them ? and if deficiency should appear, by what order of means is the remedy to be sought ?

Now, it is very certain that there are many ministers of the Gospel who do most honourably and successfully labour among the working classes. Most of our churches contain peasants and artizans whose intelligent piety is an honour to the Christian name. This is cheering ; but, on the other hand, it is too clear that such instances are but scanty exceptions. Where are the masses of the more thoughtful and cultivated working men ? That they are in our churches, no one will pretend. These societies have become mainly middle-class institutions. The great majority of the poor, in town or country, have drifted quite away from them, have renounced well nigh all religious control, and have given themselves up to irreligious carelessness, combined, perhaps, with sensual

profligacy, or have eagerly embraced the flattering dogmas of infidelity.

The reason is not far to seek ; nor, I believe, is the remedy. The evil arises principally from a very natural reaction. Blind belief has been the demand, expressed or implied, of all sects from Popery downwards. At any rate, whether demanded or not, it has been accorded. The common people, never trained to think, have credulously submitted their judgments. Modern influences have aroused their minds, and their readiest movement is to questioning and doubt. "Man's first word," writes a profound thinker, "is *Yes* ; his second *No* ; his third *Yes* again." The more thoughtful masses of our countrymen are passing through the second stage, "the universal *No*."

But where is the influence adapted to guide them into clear and calm belief again ? In the truth, we cannot doubt, committed to the church and to its ministers. All, therefore, that is required is, that this truth should be proclaimed among the people in its befitting spirit and its full proportion. The only question then is, by what defects our popular religious teaching is so marred as to cause its failure in accomplishing the end for which it is surely designed, and for which, when faithfully conducted, the Spirit of God is as surely promised to render it efficient ?

I think that an inquiring stranger, unused to the worship of our churches and the language of our pulpit, would first of all be struck by a certain technical and unfamiliar air in all that was said or done. Many sermons would require a key,—a translation out of what Foster calls the theological dialect into the language of common life, before they would at all be comprehended by an unaccustomed hearer. Mr. Pitt once said, after hearing an evangelical sermon, that he really could not understand it. Wilberforce records this as a melancholy illustration of the truth, that "the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God." May not another inference however be drawn ? The like would never have been said after a sermon by Paul, or a discourse by Him who declared, "I am sent to preach glad tidings to the poor." Yet it is strange to

see how in the minds of many religious teachers the phraseology in question is inseparably connected with orthodox belief. One of the last men in the world to wrap up his religion if he knew it, out of the reach of the common mind, says of the degraded field-labourers around him, as though it were the darkest feature in their case, "The *words* redemption, regeneration, justification, adoption, sanctification, atonement, moral government of God, vicarious sacrifice, decrees of God, *physical ability*, *moral inability*, election, reprobation, salvation, predestination, and many other words of the same class, are all Greek to the bulk of the peasantry." Very likely! Let me not be understood to repudiate the doctrines expressed by these phrases. I should probably agree with the excellent writer respecting every one. Surely, however, they may be presented in a style and phraseology adapted to the common mind. For the Gospel is to be properly taught, not as an exact science that must deal in technicalities, nor as a metaphysical system which must abound in abstruse distinctions, but as the practical, simple rule of life. Else, while the bread of heaven is being chemically analyzed, hungering spirits will be left to starve.

The mode in which "evangelical" preachers most generally discuss religious topics is, in fact, the relic of a controversial age. The terms and modes of expression found requisite by the great fathers of our modern theology to the development of their profound metaphysical reasonings, have passed into the current language of the pulpit. In this way the unfamiliar and mystic tone of our sermons has been created. True, the majority of our congregations do not perceive the defect. They have all their lives long been accustomed to the "evangelical dialect." The language of common life in the pulpit would startle them as much as would the language of the pulpit in common life. The latter would very likely be denounced as cant; the former would almost certainly be suspected as heterodox. The effect, however, upon the uninitiated, and especially upon the more thoughtful among the working classes, is most injurious. The argument and appeal sound to them

alike alien from their "business and bosoms." They recognise in the preacher's world no connexion with that in which they live, and move, and have their being. Their vague cravings are perhaps misinterpreted, assuredly unsatisfied; and if they turn to slake their spirits' thirst at the foul and turbid pool, it is because the spring of living waters seems sealed from their access.

Nor does the theological language convey any *clearer conceptions* than might be embodied in ordinary speech. The contrary is most remarkably the case. Rather than create exactness of thinking, this style of presenting truth often obviates the necessity of thinking at all. A liberal use of such phraseology, almost always betokens either poverty or confusion of thought on the part of the religious teacher. And it is very certain that many a hearer, who has gone to his accustomed place in quest of a little gentle spiritual excitement, would be most uncomfortably roused were a departure from wonted phrase to summon him fairly and manfully to reflect.

These remarks are of necessity general. There are many noble exceptions. I have spoken, however of the ordinary strain of evangelical preaching, and I do not think the accuracy of the delineation will be questioned. It may indeed be doubted whether the evils referred to are of a kind especially to operate upon the working classes. Are they likelier, it may be said, than others more highly educated and superior in station to crave a manly, thoughtful, and free exposition of religious truth? I believe that they are. The middle and higher ranks are now, in scarcely any measure, dependent upon the pulpit for intellectual food. This they find amply provided in books. They have therefore ceased, very generally, to look for *instruction* in the House of God. Nowhere can they less endure the being called to think. A little mental stimulus is all they wish. Hence the fact, at first sight so anomalous, that many of our most gifted laymen select and enjoy the ministry of preachers, whose chief characteristic is an elegant destitution of thought. The position of the labouring classes is widely different. The pulpit is still their chief in-

structor. Such, at least, is its theoretical position ; if forfeited, the fault is in itself. The Sabbath is often the only day, the sermon the only means, by which the intellectual activity, fostered, but unregulated, all the week, can be guided and controlled. Let this power be inactive or misused, and the Sunday newspaper, with influences even worse, will usurp the preacher's place. We may depend upon it, that the natural depravity of the unrenewed heart is not the only nor the greatest reason why the "Hall of Science," on a Sabbath evening, is crowded with eager listeners, while the neighbouring chapel is almost empty.

The great want of our age is simply a full and free exposition of the *whole counsel of God*. The fundamentals of the Christian faith may be duly regarded, without being the theme of every sermon. There is a glorious superstructure too. Let Christianity be inculcated as the all-regulating, all-controlling spirit of life. Its connexion with everything true and wise, generous and holy, lovely and of good report, should be the preacher's frequent theme. It should be proclaimed as the only source of freedom, the only bond of brotherhood. While it claims the right and the power to regenerate the world, it should be seen girding itself for its mission. It should speak of common life, its duties and its evils, its trials and its cares, declaring that honest labour and patient endurance are themselves parts of religion, that the distinction between things secular and sacred is false, and that, in words which a modern thinker has caught from a kindred spirit in ancient time, and urged with eloquent comment, "Work is worship." *LABORARE EST ORARE*. It should remind the complacent loungers of the sanctuary, that their religion is not there, in the cushioned pew, in the melodious hymn, but out away in the stirring work of life, among their brother men, to be exemplified in high-principled integrity, equal justice, free-hearted benevolence. The glorious, yet most solemn declaration, "Ye are not your own ; ye are bought with a price," should demand other response than a pious sigh, or a liberal subscription. Boldly should the minister speak of every relation which man

sustains to man, of business, service, or affection; setting forth its duties in the light of New Testament teaching, and as earnestly denouncing its perversions and deceits. Nay, why should political duty be omitted? Is it not a branch of morality as clear and defined as any other? Are not the principles of the Gospel here most clearly applicable? Does not the exercise of political power contain the most fearful misconception and abuse of things spiritual? Wherefore, then, with delicate fastidiousness, pass it by? The celebrated apology of Leighton to his brethren, who reproached him for paying no regard in his preaching to the marvellous signs of the times in which he lived, seems little better than an unworthy evasion. "When so many," he said, "are preaching for the times, may not one poor brother preach for eternity?" It is a sonorous sentiment, but it will not bear analysis. A true regard to the interests and duties of the life that now is, is an essential preparation for the life that is to come. The man best fitted for earth is precisely the man best fitted for heaven. "Good people in our prayer-meetings often implore that their pastor may preach as a dying man to dying men; we would fain sometimes hear the petition that he may preach as a living man to living men."

Would not this comprehensive style of preaching tend somewhat to impair spirituality of mind? Not as I understand it. The spiritual man is he who apprehends the spirit of the Gospel; who grasps in all its mighty meaning the truth that he is to live as one redeemed, and who manifests the fruits of his redemption by carrying into every earthly relation the mind that was in Christ Jesus. Now, if all these relations can in truth be so hallowed, it is evidently consistent with the purest spirituality to set forth, in full compass, their respective duties. Spirituality of mind is not the polish, but the temper of the steel. "It is not the soft flush on the invalid's cheek, that will suddenly die into almost mortal paleness, if the winds of heaven but visit it too roughly; it is rather like health, that exercise only braces, and that beats with its strongest pulse, and glows with its brightest crimson, amid

the rushing of the keen north wind, or the pelting of the pitiless storm !”

It must be added, that if the principles and applications of the Gospel are to be thus largely set forth, more deep and thorough expositions of every part of God’s revelation will be required. The reiteration of the same series of doctrines in endless round, with successive texts, taken almost at random, as mottoes, or rather mere pegs, for the suspension of the thrice-told tale, would never suffice. The Scriptures must be presented in their entirety. The successive stages of God’s government of the world, with the principles embodied in each, must be fully brought into view. The high arguments of apostles must be thoroughly followed out. The deep sayings of Jesus must be developed, in all their breadth of application to ourselves. Let the whole compass of Bible truth be thus exhibited, and its scope will be found wide as the world. The revelation of God will be made manifest as the book of humanity. Neither the moralist, the philanthropist, nor the reformer, will ever need to go beyond or beside it in quest of the principles which are to guide his course. Every possible case will here be met ; every needed rule provided.

Such teaching would no doubt require much research and profound thought. All this, however, would be compatible with the highest simplicity ; for simplicity is mainly the result of two things, *strength* and *clearness* of conception. The profound and the abstruse are two very different things. The truths which the common people heard so gladly, were the deepest ever uttered. Perplexity is often mistaken for profundity, and a man gets the credit of aiming over his hearers’ heads, when he is only shooting at random. Let thought be precise and conviction earnest, and there will be no fear but speech will be plain. Statements and reasonings must no doubt be occasionally brought into the pulpit, which the uneducated hearer cannot follow ; but more frequently the man who understands the minds of his brother men, and withal, clearly comprehends his theme, will be almost sure, whatever be his subject, to find some common standing point,

where he can meet the thoughts of even the lowliest among his audience, and whence he will be able to raise them with a sure and steady hand to the level of his own. One of the profoundest sermons I ever heard was also one of the most thoroughly simple. I shall never forget it. It was in a rustic village chapel in Buckinghamshire. Most of those present were of quite the humbler class, but the attention of every one was riveted. Great thoughts and lofty arguments clothed in the homeliest, most unpretending speech, won their way to the comprehension and heart of all. And though many of that lowly audience would have been utterly unable to analyze the influence that laid its spell upon them, all must have felt themselves, not the better only, but the greater, for what had that day been spoken.*

* I take it for granted that the system of doctrines usually termed Evangelical is the truth. To establish this in opposition to the claims of other systems would lead too far. Let every man, however, be his creed what it may, who calls himself a Christian, seek to identify his religion with all that ennobles man's daily toil, and hallows his intercourse with his fellow man. Let the principles, Work is worship, Religion is love, be everywhere proclaimed. By whomsoever spoken, the words are true and good. At the same time I must earnestly record my belief that they can be effectually maintained and consistently carried out only beneath the power of the great constraining motive, which Paul declared to be the principle of his life: "We thus judge, that if one died for all, then all were dead; and He died for all, that they who live should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again."

The influence of such a mode of presenting truth as that now described, would be very great upon all classes of the community. To the working man especially, it would, in many cases, be the revelation of a new world. He would find sym-

* The Sermon has since been published. "Christ the Spirit of Christianity," by the Rev. A. J. Morris, of Holloway.

pathy and help, where he expected only denunciation and repulse. A welcome entrance would be offered him into the paradise whose gates had hitherto seemed barred against him by technicality and jargon. His deepest spiritual cravings would be interpreted, and his highest aspirations realized. True, he might yet refuse his submission. No merely human charmer, charm he ever so wisely, can subdue the pride and unbelief of the heart of man. Still the greatest external obstacle to the triumph of the truth would be removed. At the least he would be won to listen—to inquire on what deep foundation these doctrines, so rich in good-will to man, are based. And since it is declared by the Most High himself, that his truth, worthily set forth, shall ever conquer, we cannot doubt that “Christ, and him crucified,” would speedily become the trust and joy of thousands who now regard the phrase as the symbol of a narrow superstition, or a fanatic creed.

The effect of such a style of religious teaching upon the Church itself, would also be very great. As it is, the members of our Christian communities, belonging to the class of working men, are by no means, as a general rule, the most thoughtful and intelligent of their class. The simple appeal of the Gospel has won them, but the great principles of Christianity have exerted little elevating power. Their morals are refined, but their intellects are not ennobled. It may be they “grow in grace,” but assuredly they do not advance in knowledge. The pulpit circle of thoughts and appeals is trodden year by year before them; but they are not religiously educated. In them the prayer of the apostle is too often unfulfilled—“that their love might abound yet more and more in wisdom and in all knowledge.”* As a consequence, they are unfitted to com-

* A friend of the author, thoroughly acquainted both with the world and the church, once kindly remonstrated with his pastor for having stated in the pulpit that the place of eternal punishment must not be regarded as *literally* a pit of brimstone and flame, but rather as a scene of spiritual agony; “for,” said he, “nine out of ten of your hearers would think you intended to deny the Scriptures!” The congregation was mainly composed of professed Christians of the working classes.

mend religion in any effectual way to their fellow workmen. They can but confront impious prejudice with pious prejudice—the cant of infidelity with the cant of orthodoxy; or, if in reality their defence of the religion they profess is more enlightened than prejudice, and more sincere than cant, their want of comprehensive knowledge prevents them doing justice to their own belief. False conceptions of the Christian faith, as adverse to largeness of view and liberality of character, are diffused. The claims of the Church are discredited by its own representatives, and scornfully set aside.

Surely it cannot be over-sanguine to imagine that the result of a more free and comprehensive style of proclaiming the truth would be an order of professing Christians altogether different from this. It could not be, did sermons really tend to instruct, that their weekly recurrence, year after year, would fail to produce an immense effect upon the intellects and hearts of the members of every religious community. Mental vigour, largeness of view, evangelical catholicity, would everywhere be fostered. The Church would be clothed with power to arrest the attention and to impress the hearts of men. The very appellation of a *Christian* would be suggestive of a mighty moral influence in behalf of all that was true and holy, beneficent and pure. The chief weapons of the infidel would be struck from his hands. The careless, in spite of themselves, would be roused to reflection. And then would the sublime prophecy hasten to its fulfilment, “The kingdom, and power, and dominion, shall be given to the saints of the Most High.”

For I cannot but believe, that, with a clear and full comprehension of Christian truth, other influences would directly and irresistibly act upon the Church. The religious character would be marked, not only by intelligence and mental elevation, but by a spirit of purity and love. For this is the very intent of the Gospel. It proclaims a new law of morals, of which Love is the end and sum. Its exemplar is the spirit of Jesus; and the Church can never hope to fulfil its high vocation except in proportion as that spirit is embodied in its

members. Is the requirement then answered? Take but two illustrations. How great is the difference between the mode of *transacting business* adopted by professors of religion and by the world at large? Is it not frequent to hear honest men, Christian men, say they would rather, on the average, transact business with an upright man of the world, than with an ordinary professor of religion? Are falsehoods in shop-windows, falsehoods across the counter, falsehoods in bargains, implicated or direct, confined to the ungodly? * Do not working men see these things? Again, how is the character of *the intercourse between employer and employed* affected by the professed piety of the former? As a general rule, is it affected at all? Has the "great salvation" taught its lessons of equality, administered its checks to pride, created the spirit of brotherhood? I know that in numberless cases it has, and beautiful is the result. I wish I could linger over instances and names; but in thousands more, it would seem to be in vain that the command once fell from the lips of incarnate mercy—"Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so to them."

If these things are true, is it a wonder that the working men of our land are alienated from religious institutions? Unwarped by the hollow conventions, unsophisticated by the delusive reasonings which, it may be, pervert the judgments of another class, the sturdy English labourer detects at once,

* In — street, London, there are two shops at a very small distance from each other. They both belong to the same man, and are in the same trade. One has all the appearance of a quiet, respectable house of business, and bears the proprietor's name. The other has a *feigned* name over the door, is plastered all over with announcements that the goods are selling off, as the owner is about to quit the premises—announcements which to my knowledge have been there for *three years*. Unmarketable goods are transferred from the former shop to this, vamped up to make an appearance, ticketed with cards on which a high price is first elaborately and *very visibly* erased with red ink, a lower sum being added below. The tradesman who does all this, has for years remained, unchallenged, a leading member of a Dissenting church!

and tears to pieces, the flimsy pretence. The profession of piety is challenged with the taunting question—What doest thou more than others? do not even the publicans the same? “I find,” the operative says, “I can be all without religion that my master is with it; I therefore intend to remain as I am.” Such infidelity is not to be met by arguments or appeals, by sending missionaries or building chapels, but by giving clear proof that there is something nobler in religion than these professors exhibit. The objection must be refuted in the warehouse and the workshop rather than in the pulpit and the bible-class; for the followers of Jesus may be sure that when a holiness which worldly rules could never attain begins to characterize their conduct, then, but not till then, the world, seeing their good works, will glorify their Father who is in heaven.

If, again, the Church is to be truly mighty, its constitution, as well as its spirit, must be unworldly. The great Head of his people will neither authorise nor help the employment of worldly policy, or the appeal to worldly principles, for the sake of his kingdom. Such action, moreover, from its manifest inconsistency, cannot but destroy all the moral power of the Church over the minds of men. Here the error has been most grievous. Foremost of all perversions stands the Church and State alliance, as if in bold and practical contradiction to the truth declared by Jesus, “My kingdom is not of this world.” Never, I may safely say, will the working classes of our country be again brought into control by an establishment whose outward basis is a manifest inconsistency like this. Those are politic men, albeit over-hopeful, who would roll back the wheels of time to the by-gone ages of unquestioning intellectual submission. Assuredly, in such blind belief lies the only strength of the Anglican hierarchy.

More insidious, yet scarcely less harmful, is the worldliness of voluntary churches. Spiritual equality is indeed their doctrine and their boast; but is it always watchfully maintained? Is there, to take one simple illustration, no difference made between the rich and poor? “Take some

Dissenting communities," says one whom their imperfections have driven into too unguarded a protest, "and watch the conduct of the 'leading men,' 'ruling deacons,' 'influential men,' 'liberal supporters,' 'men able to sustain the cause,' 'men who can advance the interest.' Verily one would think it was a temple of money-changers; there is a mammonic sound about the thing. We feel as amongst those who bought and sold in the Temple, and not amid the disciples of Jesus Christ. Must we not read out again to these modern Christians the severe description of the apostle James—'If there come into your assembly a man with a gold ring, in goodly apparel, and there come in also a poor man in vile raiment, and ye have respect to him that weareth the gay clothing, and say to him, Sit thou here in a good place; and say to the poor, Stand thou there, or sit here under my footstool; are ye not then partial in yourselves, and are become judges of evil thoughts?' " *

The pecuniary exigencies of the Church, together with the multiplication of societies—managed, of course, by their subscribers—to do the Church's own work, have greatly contributed to bring about this state of things. It is altogether deplorable. Far better that the Church were content to be poor than for it to make haste to be rich in the way we so often see. If there is one thing more than another asserted by the voluntary principle, it is that every gift to the cause of God should be willing. And if there is any meaning at all in the Saviour's command, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth," it is that neither the riches nor the munificence of any among his disciples should be blazoned abroad, or suffered to exalt them above the rest. How different often is the fact! The poor man who attends a place of worship without subscribing is treated as only half welcome, and thrust away into the free seats. He may be an unbeliever, a reprobate,—no matter; if he is to sit in a pew we must have his money; if he will not pay, he may stay there on a form without a back, in

* I have seen a beadle, in full costume, standing at the door of a Dissenting chapel, to send away poor people from the stately porch to an obscure entrance at the back!

the draught of the door, or any where. Now it is a certain duty of the Christian Church to proclaim the good tidings *without money and without price*. "Taking *nothing* of the Gentiles." Words cannot be clearer. The giving of money for the dissemination of the Gospel is enjoined as a Christian duty, and solely on Christian grounds. Truly, if even an unbeliever chooses to become "a cheerful giver," there can be no objection to accept his donation. But he should never be urged. No difference ought to be made in his treatment by the Church or its officers if he cannot, or even will not, contribute. The seats in our place of worship should be free to all. * All should meet an equal welcome. Subscriptions should be invited only as an expression of Christian principle. The indecorous mendicancy which characterizes some religious anniversaries should be utterly done away. The scoffer should no longer have to say that, "*Rem, quocunque modo, rem,*" might be the motto of our institutions. The result need not be feared. Subscription lists might fall off. Ministers might become poorer. But even this I doubt. The Church would realize a new responsibility, and meet it in a new spirit. Christian men would deny themselves far more than they now ever think of doing for the cause of truth and holiness. Having ceased to claim Christian liberality from those who did not serve Christ—grapes from thorns, and figs from thistles!—they would feel their own obligation to abound in all good works of charity. No longer would some fragment from hoarded thousands arrogate to itself the title of the "widow's mite." Still were such anticipations disappointed, were the Church's treasury impoverished, did its resources for a time diminish to a tithe, the loss would be its

* Whether or not there should be *pews*, architecturally speaking, seems a matter of convenience. The principle against which I contend, in fraternity for once with those pew-denouncers, the Tractarians (though not with them alone), is that of exclusion and separation in the house of God. Virtual exclusion there might be, even though the seats were constructed on the open plan; real freedom of access though doors were placed. I care little for appearances in the matter, though it must be confessed that pews are in general unsightly enough.

gain. For it would have given a confirmation, the power of which would be felt by the most unbelieving, to its own noble profession; "we seek not yours, but you."

No doubt it is a right and a becoming thing, a Christian privilege and duty, for the Church to support its pastor. But, mark, it is the business of the *Church*, not of the congregation. And if it cannot be done, where is the degradation on either side, if the minister of the Gospel follows the example of the first preachers, and toils with his own hands for sustenance? The Apostle Paul, in the very chapter * in which he so clearly establishes his right to claim support from the Church he fostered, declares that he forbore to urge that right, lest possibly his motives might be misunderstood, and remained uncomplainingly labouring to minister to his own necessities. Far better that churches and societies should be poor, far better that pastors should gain subsistence by daily toil, than that unhallowed means of any kind whatever should be employed to constrain the contributions of the unwilling. A church which, professing the voluntary principle, thus distrusts and belies it, in which the man who can bring nothing but himself is unwelcome, or in which rank and riches have the pre-eminence, will most surely be despised of man and unblest of God.†

The financial straits of which I have spoken are closely connected with another evil, itself a powerful cause of alienation and distrust. I refer to the subdivision, the *sectarianism* of the Church. How this cripples‡ and disgraces us, all Christian hearts are beginning most sorrowfully to feel. Evangelical

* Cor. ix.

† It might be added, that the visits of our greatest preachers should no longer be employed as a means of raising money. If PAUL were among us, what competition there would be for his services to preach collecting sermons! What is his own principle? "That there be no gatherings when I come." I cannot pursue the topic, but most earnestly commend a tract by the Rev. C. Gilbert, of Islington, entitled "The Weekly Offering."

‡ I have often crossed a *village green* on which there stand one Wesleyan and two Baptist chapels. A Primitive Methodist place is

Alliances and the like, are expressions of such feeling, which cannot but be regarded with sympathy and a certain measure of respect; but the evil is one of which they scarcely even indicate the remedy. For they assume the existence and separateness of our "denominations" as an admitted fact, and, in consistency with its continuance, propose to manifest the oneness of the Church. The great reason assigned by the Redeemer in his prayer for unity seems left out of sight; "that *the world* may believe that thou hast sent me." The world cannot be convinced by what it does not see, and will never believe that there is true fraternal union in the embrace of the alliance platform or prayer-meeting, followed by immediate relapse into the exclusiveness and isolation of our sects. *The churches themselves must be united.* * Christians must know no bond but the common salvation. They must bring their differing opinions into the same circle, and hold them there with mutual tolerance and brotherly love. So did the Primitive Church. Many a debate arose, but we never heard of secession or of sect. Union like this may seem far distant; but signs are not lacking that the way is being prepared. Till it arrives, the Church will neither possess her fitting influence nor do her proper work. Meanwhile, let individual Christians cherish the catholic spirit, let particular churches conform themselves as far as possible to the catholic model, and a beginning at least is made.

Another source of power to the Church would be a mani-

round the corner, and an Independent chapel half a mile off. In the midst of all, to complete the picture, there stands the parish church.

An illustration somewhat different may be added. The Rev. Dr. Vaughan was a short time since invited to assume the pastorate of a church in Birmingham. "The Rev. J. A. James," says a religious journalist, "*with characteristic magnanimity*, urged the invitation." The implied confession is unconscious but most unworthy. Were our system a right one, "magnanimity" would be the last virtue to be put to the proof by the prospect of having a neighbour and fellow-worker like Dr. Vaughan! 1850.

* The question How? I at present forbear. Not that it has been unconsidered; but this is no place to discuss it.

festation, on its part, of sympathy with the working classes in their efforts for social improvement or moral reformation.

There are many questions connected with human freedom and progress, which it is the special business of the Christian to consider. The Bible is the great charter of the rights of man. If those who avow their belief in it care not to extend a helping hand to the poor when struggling for freedom, or aspiring to the light, what more natural than that professors and profession should be alike contemned. Here often is the power of the infidel. He has succeeded by virtue of weapons borrowed from Christianity, which Christian men had neglected to use. If a philanthropy without piety has greatly prevailed, it has been because the pious have forgotten their obligation to be philanthropists. "Liberty and equality" would never have become, as the phrase now too often is, the cant of unbelief, unless it had first been practically disowned as the principle of the Gospel. But tokens of amendment are beginning to appear. May they be greatly multiplied! Not a few of the greatest men in the religious world are coming forth manfully to do battle in the cause of social and mental freedom. A reformer may now lift up his voice in the very heart of the Christian Church, without being frowned into silence by the politic formalist or the sentimental devotee. These things are most encouraging. I do not pretend here to inquire what particular side it becomes religious men to take in the questions of our day—as Labour Regulation, Poor-laws, Suffrage Extension, the Ballot, and the like. Only let them take some side, take it as Christians, and bring Christian principle to bear upon each point of controversy. Let them feel that what concerns the position and the interests of the sons of toil, must, on that very account, have a claim upon the thoughts and sympathies of all who have received, as the Word of Life, the glad tidings that was first proclaimed to the poor. Ministers of that Gospel, especially, may most appropriately engage in such discussions. If, striving to judge as their Master would have judged, they believe that the masses are mistaken in any object of their desire, let them say so openly and fearlessly, yet sympa-

thizingly, and not without showing fair reason for their verdict. Or, if they become convinced that the result for which their toiling brethren contend is just, let them strive for it too, helping heartily by every means, and controlling by the power of strong religious principle, the stormy elements of the popular will. Nothing is more pitiful than to hear, as we often do hear, men of Christian character and great moral influence excusing themselves from bearing a part in social or political movements, which they themselves acknowledge to be based on truth and right, because, it may be, of some unregulated ardour, or, perhaps, even coarser fault, that characterizes the advocacy. Why, the way to keep the promoters of the cause within becoming bounds would be for these men to contribute their aid, and so by the restraints of Christian principle to temper the impetuosity that without such check is sure to transgress. Their excuse is in fact their self-condemnation. The working men of our country can bear to hear their favourite views opposed, if it be only done in a generous and sympathizing spirit, and if those who are ever so ready to reprove them when wrong are equally alert in assisting them when right. Yes, the people are neither undiscerning nor ungrateful. We may trust them. They will soon discover, and they will not desert, their friends.

There is one moral enterprise of our day, so unique in its character, and so vast in its influence,—one, moreover, towards which the Church in general has assumed so equivocal an attitude, that separate reference must be made to it here. I allude to the Temperance or Total Abstinence Movement. The nature of this enterprise all my readers know. It is a crusade against a vice to which the labouring classes are especially exposed, and of which the extent and ravages among this portion of the community are confessedly most fearful. The means of reformation are, first, a simple appeal to the drunkard himself, founded on the fact that in the total relinquishment of the means of his undoing lies his great, if not his only security; and urged by the consideration that neither health, nor strength, nor real com-

fort, is in general to be attained by the use, in however small a degree, of intoxicating beverages. This latter fact, again, is felt most fully to sanction an appeal to moderate drinkers also to renounce the use of these liquors; partly, that they may be preserved from the temptation to excess, but principally for the sake of presenting that great MORAL EXAMPLE, without which we can scarcely hope to succeed in inducing the inebriate to abstain. Such, in a few words, is "Teetotalism." It is a moral remedy for a moral evil. It does not profess to be regeneration. As far, however, as it goes, it is evidently adapted to its proposed end; and the principle on which its widest appeal is based—that of sacrifice for the benefit of others—is in manifest accordance with the New Testament law of love. Somewhat wonderful, then, is the general apathy with which the Christian Church in this country has regarded it. Nay, more than wonderful is the suspicion and scorn with which its claims have often been treated, as though they were in direct hostility to the truths of the Gospel. In June, 1847, the Southern Division of the Evangelical Alliance brought up a report to the general meeting of the body, which suggested that an endeavour should be made to ascertain how far facts in physical science may have tended to encourage infidelity, and also *the connexion between infidelity and teetotalism*. A startling allegation! But, surely, either too much or too little was said. For if there is such a connexion in *principle*, it ought to have been pointed out; if only in *practical working*, the question naturally followed, whether the unbeliever might not have perverted the weapons to his own purposes, only because the Christian had refused to take them up.*

Many of the objections which it is customary to urge against the total abstinence cause, may be admitted to the full without in the least impairing its real merits. Very often, for instance, it is said that drunkenness is more frequently an effect than a

* The "Teetotal Essayist," Nos. 9 and 10, contains testimonies from christian men from all parts of the land sufficient to refute for ever the allegation made at the meeting to which I have referred.

cause. The poor man, having no inducement, in his depressed social position, to cultivate frugal and provident habits, and possessing no mental resources on which to fall back, is in a manner compelled to waste his leisure time and means in dissipation. Elevate his position, encourage his self-respect, educate his mind, train him to higher tastes, and, even apart from religious influences, the chief part of the temptation will be destroyed. All this is very true, and I do not, for my part, believe that drunkenness will ever be extirpated until, in an improved social state, the temptations to intemperance are done away. But it must be remembered that one means of this social improvement will be found in the prevalence of such principles as those incorporated in the Total Abstinence Movement. The destruction of the effect will react upon the cause. With temperate habits will come those higher tastes, which will tend to abate the inducements to intemperance. The disease, it is true, must be cured before the symptom will disappear; but to mitigate the symptom is one step towards removing the disease.

It may again be alleged, that the reformation effected by total abstinence is imperfect and superficial. This, again, is fully admitted. Such reformation does not contain within itself the elements of its own perpetuity. It must be backed by some higher principle than the conviction of advantage that induces a man to take the pledge, or the feeling of self-respect that urges him to keep it when taken; else it will undoubtedly come to nought. But this is no more than might be said of any moral reform whatsoever. And what is the inference? Not, assuredly, to check it on that account, but to connect it with those principles which will insure its strength and permanence—in other words, to ally it with religion.

Higher claims, I confess, than any which I have here put forth on behalf of "Teetotalism," are occasionally made by its advocates. Christianity itself may, in comparison, be sometimes undervalued and contemned. A circumstance this, most deeply to be deplored. But did it ever occur to the believer in the Gospel, as shocked and indignant he turned away, that he

might, after all, be in part to blame? As I have said before, morality will not disown religion until the religious neglect to inculcate morality. If Christians will not accept teetotalism as an ally, it will be exalted as a rival. True, the result will be disappointment to the advocates, and eventual overthrow to the cause; for there is but ONE power that can truly regenerate mankind. The Church, however, will have too late most bitterly to reflect that a great means of usefulness placed within its reach had been neglected and thrown away.

The importance of this matter was most strikingly shown in a correspondence conducted last winter in the *Nonconformist* with great earnestness and ability by working men, respecting the alienation of their class in general from our religious institutions. As may be expected, the reasons assigned were manifold; but the agreement with regard to this was wonderful. Men from all parts of the country stated, as a fact of their personal experience, that of all the causes which estranged the labourer from Christian influences, the disregard and ridicule with which ministers and professors of religion were accustomed to treat the temperance reformation, stood pre-eminent. Is this wonderful? Is an enterprise of benevolence, by which thousands have been reclaimed from the most degrading of vices, thousands more prevented from falling into it, and multitudes of the once outcast been brought beneath the sound of that Gospel by the power of which their souls have been saved from perdition, worthy of open hostility or cold contempt? It is true that irregularity and extravagance will sometimes characterize the total abstainer's plea for his cause. But the advocacy of the Gospel itself is not exempt from these evils. They do but form additional arguments for the infusion into it of Christian knowledge and prudence. It becomes the ministers and servants of Christ most solemnly to ponder this matter. To say the least, it is important. For it is, at any rate, certain that thousands of working men, intelligent, pious, and well-acquainted with the feelings and habits of their brethren in the same class, are most deeply convinced that professors of Christianity cannot by any method so thoroughly

assure the toiling millions of our country that the Church is in truth anxious for their moral and social welfare, as by aiding the temperance reformation.

Many other means might be mentioned by which the Christian teacher may most appropriately and manifestly prove the alliance of his religion with whatever tends to moral elevation and mental enlargement. One is by occasionally assuming the post of popular instructor in subjects unconnected with theological truth. The free familiar lecture on science, physical or intellectual; the occasional presidency of a working-men's discussion meeting; the formation of a winter's class for the investigation of some topic of history or philosophy, are among the methods by which the preacher of the Gospel might prove that in more than a professional sense he 'cared for the souls' of men. It would be a sure way to win many hearts; not by guile either, but fairly and honestly; for as all truth is divine, there is an affinity between every portion of it, and to employ one to prepare for the entrance of the other is to follow out the purposes of God himself. A valued friend of my own has achieved great success among the working classes in this way. The general lecture, once a fortnight, attracted to the school-room, adjoining the house of prayer, many who were living in entire neglect of public worship. A large portion of these began to turn their footsteps thitherward on the Sabbath too, and several who had at first sought only intellectual gratification became the subjects of spiritual change. Greatly is it to be desired that such efforts should not be left to the wisdom and large-heartedness of an individual here and there, but should be seriously considered by the churches themselves, incorporated into their arrangements, and carried on as a part of the means by which they are called to diffuse the truth, and so "to serve their generation according to the will of God."

I have spoken very little throughout this chapter of direct religious efforts for the conversion of our countrymen. I have not urged the erection of new chapels, nor the designation of more town or rural missionaries. I have not pleaded for a

greater degree of earnestness in our ministers, a deeper concern on the part of Christians generally for the salvation of souls, or a more thorough appreciation of the main articles of evangelical belief. There may, in all these things, be defect, but I do not believe that the lack of power chiefly arises here. Places of worship abound. Never were there so many faithful servants of God ministering at his altar. Never was there, upon the whole, so much real godliness in the land. The evil is, that the Church seems scarcely to apprehend its true position with regard to the world. Its light is too much turned inwards. There is little of the far-flashing illuminating radiance of holiness. The "city set upon a hill" is too busy with its own internal politics to extend becoming sympathy with the dwellers and wanderers around. Let the Church only realize its high calling; manifest the simplicity and love of its Master; care, as He did, for the toiling multitudes; throw aside its selfishness, renounce its inconsistencies, declare its interest in all that tends to social welfare, mental freedom, or intellectual elevation, and little more would be required to attract or to impress the world.

At the same time it is desirable that Christians should review the specifically religious institutions of the Church; to inquire whether they may not, in some respects, be susceptible of material improvement, and whether new agencies may not even yet be devised more fully adapted to the wants of our time. The SUNDAY-SCHOOL, for instance, may become a living power, such as its most devoted friends have scarcely dared to imagine. The machinery is so simple, and the end so perfectly in harmony with the tenderness and beneficence of the Gospel, that its eventual success, to a most extraordinary degree, cannot be doubted. If it has hitherto comparatively failed, it is on account, chiefly, of two things. Its distinctively religious character has been marred by the necessity of teaching the elements of secular knowledge; and many of the instructors employed have not, either in piety or knowledge, been well fitted for their work. *

* Added to the fact, which in some measure arises out of these, that in many districts the youth of both sexes are accustomed, as a matter of

The former necessity, however, is fast disappearing ; the latter deficiency is being increasingly supplied, and Sabbath-schools are beginning to assume their proper character, as the sources of the best religious instruction to the young, and as the most valuable auxiliaries to the Church. It may be confidently hoped that before long the land will be covered by a band of thoroughly well-trained teachers, intent only upon imparting Christian knowledge ; and that the revival of true religion, and the evangelization of Britain will be in great part but the fulfilment of the sacred promise, “ Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.” The extent, again, of this religious agency is most encouraging. Thousands of families in which the parents are careless or reprobate, are accessible to Christian influence by means of their children. In a walk through St. Giles’s one Sunday morning, some time back, amid all the distressing tokens of irreligion and profligacy which everywhere met the eye in the open shops, the squalid crowds, the quarrelling and intemperance, one circumstance was inexpressibly cheering :—*scarcely any children were there.* The contrast with week-day scenes in the same neighbourhood was, in this respect, most remarkable.

course, to leave the school just when they need its instruction most. I have often seen young people dismissed, with a Bible, from the school into the world, for no other reason, as it seemed, than *because* they were 16 or 17 years of age ! It is here that thousands fall through—between the school and the church—too old, forsooth, for the instructions of the former, and scarcely old enough to appreciate those of the latter. An intelligent and philanthropic Christian gentleman publicly declared in my hearing the other day, that in one of our cities he visited the gaol, and made it his business to inquire how many of the prisoners had been accustomed to attend Sabbath-schools. What was the case on the men’s side of the prison I do not know ; but on that of the women, the astounding fact was elicited that *every one*, from the delinquent of fifteen to the criminal of fifty, *had been a Sunday scholar !* They had fallen in the chasm ! And until it is bridged over by a thoroughly effective system of BIBLE CLASSES, the school will never be to the church what it seems well adapted, by God’s grace, to become.

1850.

The little ones, it was evident, were at school. And in comparing their Sabbath occupations with that of their parents, was it possible not to lift up the heart in silent thankfulness to God, or to do otherwise than augur the largest good for the coming age?

Many Sunday-school teachers wisely call their classes together on the week-day for the simple scientific lecture, or the pleasant social evening; thus identifying religion with the highest and happiest thoughts of youthful hearts, and so preparing them to welcome it with gladness, as the ruling spirit of life. And I cannot refrain from adding, as another most encouraging sign in connexion with these institutions, that many parents of middle and higher rank now send their children to be instructed side by side with the children of the poor. The mingling of classes, for which I have contended in the day-school, is thus effected; the miserable pride which calls itself "aristocratic" is powerfully checked; and with the lessons of early days, that spiritual equality is inculcated, which always "becometh the house of God."

Were I to refer to other Christian agencies for a moment, it should be to recommend a greater amount of *evangelism* in distinction from pastoral and pulpit labours. The plan and its success are at least as old as Wesley and Whitfield. It is difficult to say why it should have now again fallen into disrepute. "There are busy, populous neighbourhoods, with a congregation in almost every street, and ministers complaining of the bareness of their chapels! Surely one is tempted to exclaim, it is Satan himself who has imprisoned each of our ministers within four walls! Alas for our slavery to custom! We must be *ministers* before we can preach; and even then we cannot tell the people of their danger until they first come to hear *us*. We must fix perishing sinners in seats and pews, and place ourselves in 'consecrated desks,' called pulpits, before we can warn them to 'flee from the wrath to come.' " *

* "Irish Endowments and Irish Missions," an unpretending but very able little pamphlet, published in the spring of 1849.

In the previous chapter I spoke of the "ragged" school. One word more for the outcast and the wretched. The Christians in Aberdeen, not content with their schools for destitute children, have opened a chapel for destitute adults. I transcribe some sentences from the pastor's record of his labours:—

"A theatre of the very lowest description, in the neighbourhood where such an effort was most needed, was soon obtained, and filled up for a chapel. The teacher laboured, by the Divine blessing, to present evangelical truth to the neglected poor in a simple and clear manner, and interested himself, generally, in their welfare. The result has been such as to make all who are interested in the effort to thank God and take courage.

"Preaching stations in school-rooms will not do. There is a moral influence in the fact of having a chapel, be it ever so rude, in the midst of a degraded and polluted people, which no school-room can ever exert. The experiment has been tried in Aberdeen with an issue completely establishing the claims of the chapel over the school-room preaching station. The attention of the congregation during service is such as puts to shame many of our own churches. Cases of conversion are not wanting, and altogether the experiment constitutes a new era in the history of Christian enterprise.

"In this one congregation, composed at first of about twenty persons, but now crowded, a self-supporting tract society has been formed, and a Bible society, both of which are in efficient operation. Music-classes and a temperance society have recently been established, with the most encouraging prospects of good; and some who, not long since, were regarded as almost irreclaimable, are giving evidence of newness of life." *

* From a late report of this "ragged kirk" (1850), the following particulars are gathered:—

"The kirk was at first an exceedingly plain and primitive-looking structure, with deal boards for sittings, and pulpit similar.

"When the people were told that the place had been built expressly for themselves; that no contributions would be exacted from them;

While, however, all praise is given to such benevolent efforts, let their true limits be distinctly kept in view. The “ragged chapel,” like the “ragged school,” is, at the best, a

that there would be a Sunday-school for the children, and week-day services arranged, they were evidently filled with surprise.

“As the attendance increased, and the taste and habits of the congregation improved, it was thought well that the building should be gradually improved also; and, as the funds subscribed would allow it, the deal seats were removed and pews constructed, the pulpit plainly dressed, the interior of the building tastefully painted, thoroughly ventilated, and lighted with gas. All the appointments were in harmony with the requirements of a poor man’s kirk; and yet there was every comfort that the circumstances of the case would justify.

“How to organize the meetings was a subject of much consideration. To enrol the names of those who might attend would appear invidious; to inquire into their personal history would be inquisitorial. The idea of forming a self-supporting Tract Society was suggested, and approved. The people were told, that if they would subscribe one halfpenny a week, their subscriptions would be applied monthly for the purchase of religious tracts, to be apportioned to each according to the amount subscribed. The philosophy of self-reliance was thus enounced, and as the names and addresses of members were to be called over every Sunday evening, a knowledge of the circumstances and causes of absence might, for all useful purposes, thus be gained. On the second Sunday after the formation of this society, sixty names were on the roll; and that number has since been fully maintained. At the first monthly meeting, 350 tracts, of from two to five pages, together with a number of single leaf and hymn cards, were apportioned. It was quite a scene to witness this distribution. The poor people received the little messengers of truth like men and women who felt that they had value for their money, and not with that indifference which often attends the reception of tracts bestowed as a gift. At the next meeting, cheap periodical literature was introduced. By-and-by, the subscribers made this institute their own, and took an active part in the management. Our average monthly distribution now consists of two hundred and fifty tracts, and sixty copies of various monthly Magazines.

“Our next step was to form a department in this society for the purchase of Bibles, by subscriptions of a penny a week. The lowest possible price was charged for each Bible, and in the course of two months, twenty-six were subscribed for. This department of the

necessary evil. To the effects of the Church on behalf of the industrious classes, these institutions bear much the same relation as the provisions of a hospital sustain toward the com-

society's operations has been attended with the most remarkable success—the interest manifested by the people having never once flagged. There are now twenty subscribers on the list; weekly accessions being constantly made. Since the formation of the fund, the members have subscribed—

6 Shillings in silver,
60 Sixpences,
1,920 Pennies,
4,568 Halfpennies,
Total £19 1s. 2½d.

With this money we bought and distributed, according as each had subscribed—

1,000 Anecdote Tracts,
1,200 Christian Penny and other Magazines,
4,000 Tracts, from 4 to 12 pages,
30 Psalm-books,
45 New Testaments,
160 Bibles.

It is truly heart-warming to see how willingly these people subscribe their pence for the Word of God.

“ A Sunday-school has also been formed. It is attended by about a hundred scholars, and taught on the principle of instilling truth into the memory, through the judgment, rather than presenting it to the judgment through the memory.

“ We have had a course of popular lectures delivered on week-day evenings, and to crowded congregations. The Rev. Mr. Longmuir began with ‘ Geology illustrated ;’ Sheriff Watson followed, on ‘ Domestic Economy ;’ Professor Martin, of Marischal College and University, on ‘ The Bible the best Rule of Life and Conduct,’ &c. These gentlemen cheerfully agreed to deliver the lectures, and were no less surprised than gratified with the attention of the people. The happy effects can be estimated only by the few strangers who had the pleasure of being present when they were delivered. The audience evidently felt that they were sympathized with; and at the close of each lecture, warmly expressed their grateful sense of the kindness thus done them.

“ The Temperance Society is also conducted by the members themselves, amounting to above a hundred; and, as a precautionary measure

forts of a home. Their greatest triumph will be to have rendered themselves unnecessary. It would be impossible too strongly to deprecate any system of exclusion whatever, either in the school or church. The separation described in the foregoing extracts is needful for a time, simply because shame would deter the unhappy outcast from meeting with the industrious, and because his utter ignorance would often disqualify him from receiving any benefit if he did.

In pondering the statements and suggestions of this chapter, it must be distinctly remembered that the lack of power in religious institutions is no supposition of my own. It is admitted by their most earnest and devoted friends. The honoured and venerable fathers of all our denominations testify with one accord to the mournful fact. It is the theme of penitent regret, and of solemn inquiry, at every meeting of pastors or churches for conference and prayer. And the eyes of all still turn to the working classes. Deeply, truly is it felt, that their spiritual condition is to a very great extent a test of the religious progress of the country. The aspect of the Church towards them will show, more than anything beside, whether it is doing its work. None can conceal from themselves now, that inquiry into this matter will disclose most unfavourable and humbling results. Disheartening beyond expression would be the present state of our country, if we felt that we had done our utmost. But if the positions of this chapter be true, the

to ensure consistency, every candidate is taken a month on trial. His name is first entered on a penciled list, and afterwards placed on the regular roll, if his probation has been satisfactory. They have elected one of their own number as president, and meet every Wednesday evening to revise the list of membership. Medals, with suitable devices, and the bond of union (total abstinence from intoxicating drinks) engraved on each—are constantly worn by the members. It is worthy of notice here, how much the members of this society have improved in their domestic circumstances—men who for years had nothing better than fustian clothing being now to be seen with good black coats! It is an interesting fact, that the majority of members in this society are women.”—See a tract entitled “*Ragged Kirks; and how to fill them, by James H. Wilson, editor of the North of Scotland Gazette.*”

baffled and discouraged Church may yet be addressed in some such strain as that by which the orator of Athens consoled his defeated countrymen :—" Believe me, the most disastrous feature in your present state is yet the ground of your fairest hope ; for your calamity befell you in an utterly unprepared and defenceless condition. Had you been overcome when fully equipped, and after you had fought your best, there might be occasion for despair ; but as it is, remember that Philip has conquered, not your city, but only your indolence and neglect." Let the Church but be alert and wise. Let it meditate its vast and wide responsibility, its high ideal, its glorious mission. In the strength of the Most High, let it gird itself for its appointed task. Success is certain. God will vindicate his own cause. The unbelieving will be convinced, the thoughtless aroused. Those who in restlessness are asking, " Who will show us any good ? " will behold the attainment of their fondest aim. The victories of truth and righteousness will advance. And angels once again may sing, as they mark the growing conquests, " Glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good-will amongst men ! "

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PRESS.

THE School and the Church find in the Press their mightiest auxiliary. The working classes of England are becoming essentially a reading people. It is no doubt true, that there are still multitudes who scarcely know the alphabet, and multitudes more who read without discernment or intelligence. But this scarcely affects the fact. Those who do not read are invariably influenced by those of their companions who do. The oracle of the workshop or the taproom, is the man familiar with newspapers, versed in periodicals, or—for the case is not uncommon among the most laborious operatives—acquainted with general literature. It is he who moulds the minds of his comrades, and teaches them to think and act. The whole of this portion of the community may therefore be regarded as, in a great measure, subject to the power of the press.

But what literature have they to guide them? The answer to this question is startling and sad. The Christian public will not soon forget the facts disclosed in 1847 by Mr. Oakey, in his tractate on "The Power of the Press: is it rightly employed?" It was there proved that while the *thirteen* professedly religious newspapers published in London (eleven orthodox Protestant, one Roman Catholic, and one Unitarian) consumed between them 2,490,250 stamps per annum, one leading Sunday newspaper—and we all know its character—

consumed 3,275,000. It was shown that the Sunday stamped literature, in all, circulated 11,702,000 copies annually, being more than three times the whole yearly issue of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Trinitarian Bible Society, the Coldstream Free Press Bible Society, and the grants of the Religious Tract Society. It was, moreover, stated, on, I believe, evidence more than sufficient, that the total amount of unstamped periodical literature of pernicious and immoral tendency, published in London alone, might be set down at 17,160,000. The grand total issue of publications whose influence is all upon the side of moral corruption is thus 28,862,000. And, on the other side, adding together the fore-mentioned issues of Bible Societies, the entire issues of the Tract Society, from handbill to volume, and the whole circulation of every religious periodical and denominational magazine, we have but 24,418,620. So that the balance in favour of the former is beyond four millions! To which it may be added, that the religious literature referred to circulates chiefly among professing Christians of the middle classes; while that of a demoralizing character finds its way, in a very large proportion, to the homes and haunts of the poor.

These facts are overwhelming. Yet we can afford to look them calmly in the face. The sentence of Demosthenes might again be quoted. We have not done our utmost. So evident is this, that in now attempting the work, we need not "bate one jot of heart or hope." One profound sentence explains the whole defect, and indicates also where we are to look for the remedy—"The children of this world are in their generation wiser than the children of light." For, matter apart, let us compare a popular infidel publication with a popular religious magazine; I care not where the selection is taken. If the reason of failure were not full soon discovered, I should value but little the discernment of the investigator, or henceforth should utterly distrust my own. In every page of the former there will be manifest the result of a keen study and thorough knowledge of the minds of the common people—their tastes, their position in the scale of intelligence, their

prevailing modes of thought, their ruling opinions and highest aspirations. Now, not to be invidious, can a single periodical of the latter class, characterized by these features, be pointed out? Is there one which, on account of its style and spirit, we should expect to see in newsvendors' windows down narrow Manchester streets, or in London courts? Is there one which we should not be very much surprised to find in the hands of a man who had no religious tastes, or of which we should not wonder to hear that it had been influential in leading an intelligent sceptical artizan to submit to the authority of Christian truth? When such a case does occur, we know how it is blazoned; while assuredly if these works fulfilled their mission it would be but an ordinary occurrence. No fault is found with the principles of such publications. These are often of the highest and purest character. In most, the leading truths of the evangelical system are nobly asserted; in a few even upheld without sectarianism. Some, again, advocate, with admirable fearlessness, political principles of the most just and liberal character. But, what has been said with regard to the pulpit must be reiterated here, that the inflexible style of phraseology, together with the uniform mould of thought, impart a technical, exclusive character, to the whole teaching, and effectually bar its access to any mind unfamiliar with the dialect of the sanctuary.

How then is the error to be corrected? Many of the principles advocated in the last chapter might be brought to furnish a reply. I will not, however, repeat them, and only offer a few hints.

First of all, our popular religious literature should be divested of its exclusiveness. Every article in a Christian periodical need not be on a directly religious topic, any more than every sentence uttered by a Christian man need be a pious exhortation. Let me not be misunderstood. I speak of *popular* literature—literature for the people. Denominational tracts and magazines I have nothing to do with now. Their very tendency is partial and exclusive; they can never hope, and very seldom aim, to reach beyond their own circle. It is true,

that sometimes the organ of a denomination is heard at the same time to pretend to be a magazine for the people; but one can only smile at the self-delusion. "If you represent a sect," it might be replied, "the people will never hear you : * or were they even inclined to listen, you could not in any worthy manner undertake the task of their instruction; you have something else to do." No; the religious teaching that is to attract and impress the masses, must at the least be catholic. But what I mean is something more. "I never wanted books on Christian subjects," said Dr. Arnold, "half so much as books on common subjects, written in a Christian spirit." Most wise and suggestive are these words. Our tracts and magazines fail of their object through their compilers' repudiation of the principle thus laid down. Throughout the whole series, the aim is unvarying, the tone monotonous. The pious conversations, the death-bed scenes, the edifying little essays, the anecdotes, poetry, reviews, intelligence, are conceived in one spirit, and cast in one mould. To the Church member, or to the man who expects but one thing in his magazine, and has access to other ample literary stores, this may be of little consequence, or may be even regarded as a recommendation. To all others, however, the periodical presents nothing but the same unchanging appeal; one of infinite importance we confess, but one which thus monotonously urged is unlikely to be pondered with thoughtfulness, or even to be heard with patience. Tell a man at the outset of your interview with him, that you wish to

* The power and energy often thrown into (so called) popular denominational literature often recalls, with sadder emphasis even than attended their first application, the lines of Goldsmith upon Burke :—

"Who, born for the universe, narrowed his mind,
And to party gave up what was meant for mankind."

The PEOPLE would not even come to hear the lectures of the Congregational Union to the working classes, the other day, in London, though subjects and lectures were of so high an order. The only exception was in the case of a gentleman who has so thoroughly identified himself with the people's cause, that the crowd who went to listen to him refused to regard him as the representative of a sect. 1850.

impress and convert his soul, and you have gone the readiest way to defeat your own purpose. The emotions you thus avowedly solicit, instinctively shrink from your appeal. The most exquisite pathos would fail to draw a tear were it prefaced by the announcement, "I am now going to be pathetic." It may be, this accounts for the small effect of many sermons, otherwise most excellent; sure we are that it suggests at once the explanation of the fact, that our ordinary religious literature exerts so little influence over the minds which it is most desirable to reach. Let the writers of Christian tracts and magazines throw themselves boldly out into the whole region of human thought and inquiry; selecting, of course, but one subject at a time, and restricting the choice to those topics adapted to win the interest and sympathy of the common people. A large field would thus be open to them, and every step of it might be traversed religiously. It would be evident to all readers, that while the author regarded every relation of man to the world, or to his fellow-man, as deeply important, his relation to God exercised a regal control over them all. The great truths of the Christian system should be seen to enthrone themselves upon all other truths. History, science, biography,* nay, even the minor morals of daily life, might all thus render unconstrained and fitting homage to the Redeemer of men. Attempts to realize this idea, I know, have failed. Perhaps the notion itself has been but dimly apprehended. We can scarcely help thinking so when we see in a "religious" treatise on zoology, the tricks of tigers made to illustrate the snares of the devil, and the quarrels of monkeys to set forth the evils of theological controversy! This is mere burlesque. To Christianize general literature is something else than to drag in a scriptural moral at the close of every section. If indeed

* I cannot refrain from commending to my readers Mr. Binney's Lecture on the Life of Sir T. F. Buxton (Religious Tract Society, 6d.) as a perfectly beautiful illustration in which a topic, of high universal interest in itself, may be so handled as to convey, in most fascinating guise, the deepest moral and spiritual truths.

the moral be appropriate and enforced, let it be given ; but if not, far better let the chapter go unmoralized. The tone of literature, like that of life, may be profoundly Christian, though many an act of the one, and many a page of the other may be without a single directly religious word.

The *style* in which the working man should be addressed through the press, should of course be characterized by simplicity. Let writers but think clearly, and straightforwardly say the thought that is in them ; and they will not have to complain of not being understood by the common people. Our Saxon, Bible English contains a far more copious supply of words than some, who have not fairly tried its capabilities, might be ready to suspect. Not, indeed, that any arbitrary rule is to be laid down. Some writers have more of the Saxon mind than others, and, therefore, more of the Saxon phrase. An affectation of this dialect is very bad. And now and then there seems to prevail a kind of cant about it, somewhat to be discountenanced. Other things being equal, it will be the man of Saxon thought and speech who will gain the easiest and most decisive mastery over the popular mind ; but no man whatever, who does but think clearly and strongly, need ever despair of speaking plainly, whether his mental tastes and habitudes incline him to the Saxon, the Latinized, or even the Gallicised English style. The perfection of popular address, whether in book, or tract, or sermon, is just this and no more : the utterance of the THOUGHTS OF THE WISE IN THE WORDS OF THE SIMPLE.

In this there need be no *condescension*. The parade of simplicity is insufferable. None detect and resent it sooner than the very parties for whose benefit it is meant. Whether in a lady dispensing soup-tickets, or in an author imparting philosophy, a condescending tone is one which they will not endure. And they are right. In such a style, whensoever adopted, there is an assumption of superiority at utter variance with all true manly brotherhood. As I have said, let the writer only take care to speak straightforwardly, and leave the simplicity to take care for itself. In the writings of Cobbett or

Joseph Barker there is no condescension ; nor in the speeches of Cobden, or Dawson, or Fox.* These men utter their thoughts plainly forth without tinsel of rhetoric on the one hand, or parade of simplicity on the other. One can see the thing intended clearly and directly through its dress of language. The consequence is, that all classes are arrested and influenced ; while working men especially are impressed, persuaded, and won. It can scarcely be too often repeated, that a clear head is the chief fountain of perspicuous speech. Confused and cloudy thought may strive as it will, by arts of condescension and clap-trap, to pass for wisdom and depth ; the only result will be, that, to the eyes of all who can truly discern, it will but appear more confused and cloudy still.

From these remarks it will follow that there is, properly speaking, no working men's style in distinction from the style in which an author, writing with simplicity and in earnest, would address any other class. The special adaptation must be in subject rather than manner, and in form rather than treatment. Books for the poor, however thoughtful and profound, must be compendious, to suit their limited opportunities of study ; and cheap, to suit their narrow means of purchase. They must also deal with topics within the circle of working people's interest and sympathy, and refrain from all show of an erudition which such readers cannot be expected to possess. Beyond these I do not know that any rules can be laid down, other than those which it becomes all writers on all subjects ever to bear in mind.

Of all forms in which the labouring classes might be ad-

* In mentioning these names, I need scarcely say that the style, not the sentiments, of the several writers and speakers, is the subject of reference. I cannot, however, satisfy myself without one word, more in sorrow than in anger, respecting the tone and spirit of Mr. Barker's later writings. They have degenerated into collections of egotism and abuse. Most bitterly is this to be regretted, inasmuch as, perhaps, there is no living author whose style is more thoroughly adapted to the minds of the English common people, or who once bid fairer for a high place among the moral and social reformers of the age.

dressed, that of the *Tract*, perhaps, possesses the greatest capabilities of good. Its cheapness, its brevity, its unity of subject, are advantages which no other form of literature can, to the same extent, combine. Its influence might, indeed, be irresistible. At the same time it is but too evident that the attempt to disseminate religious truth, by means of tracts, is, on the whole, a failure. Where the fault lies is not quite so clear. It can scarcely be with the distributors, loan or otherwise, though this they are told, perhaps, as often as they meet; and, if not, there must be something in the style and character of the tracts themselves. Would that the Religious Tract Society had kept to the work indicated by its name, instead of diverting its energies to the book-publishing trade; or, at any rate, that now, since there are so many publishers of volumes and treatises of a Christian character, it would at once renounce all rivalry with them, and concentrate its resources on the production of really valuable and effective tracts. The result would be worth all the labour, and no expense could be too great to ensure it. As has been repeatedly said, such publications should be on all subjects, only treated in the light, and beneath the influence, of Christian truth. If but half the labour of mind and hand were given to this which is now expended on the gold-beating and change-ringing of our modern religious literature, we should soon possess some works of priceless value in smallest compass, each of which would speak to the intellects and hearts of men far more mightily than whole cargoes of the feeble homilies and feebler narratives, compiled with the best intentions and in the greatest hurry, issued to the world, and circulated in vast unproductive abundance, under the name of religious tracts. But why wait for societies to take up the work? They, perhaps, can offer the greatest facilities and the fairest inducements.* Still, are there none of our clear-headed, deep-thinking, religious literary men who would engage in such an

* The Religious Tract Society has offered liberal prizes for essays *about* the working classes. Might it not advantageously employ similar means to obtain tracts *for* them?

enterprise, for its own sake? The task will be far from easy: the toil may, at first, be thankless; but great, in the end, will be the reward.

Similar hints would apply to cheap periodical literature. The vast circulation of some of our smaller religious magazines is, in one respect, delusive. They do not get to the people at large. As I have said, they are absorbed by the middle classes and by the members of our churches. And still it will be so until some periodical, truly Christian, though with little religious profession, and, above all things, entirely separate from sect, shall appear. The advent of such a publication, worthily conducted, will be as notable an epoch in the literary history of our country, however less splendid it may appear, as the day on which the first number of the *Spectator* roused the wonder and delight of the coffee-house critics, that on which the publication of Macaulay's *History* filled "the Row" with eagerness, or that in which Mr. Samuel Simmons, the bookseller, paid the first instalment of five pounds to John Milton for the *Paradise Lost*.

May I add another suggestion? One cause of the vast circulation obtained by the godless, demoralizing, penny literature of our day, is the facility of procuring it which its publishers invariably grant to newsvenders and petty booksellers. It is clear that periodicals and tracts exposed in the shop-windows of every street have a much better chance of sale than those which can be obtained but of one or two tradesmen in a district, or which must be ordered by the purchaser from London. Equally plain is it that the dealer in this kind of ware will not run the risk of taking goods on speculation without some corresponding advantages. Here, again, "the children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light." Penny publications of a low and vicious character, I am informed, are generally sold wholesale to the newsvenders at the rate of 13 for 8d., in some instances 7½d.; those of a religious class at the ordinary publishers' price, 9d. a dozen. The consequence is, that on the former a profit of 38½ or 42 per cent. is made, on the latter only 25. This fact

alone makes it not surprising that the stalls and windows of back-street booksellers are crowded with the tracts of Reynolds, Cleave, and Lloyd, to the exclusion of the Tract Society's publications, the religious penny magazines, the "Appeal," or the "Happy Home."* For while the demand undoubtedly regulates the supply, the trader's profit itself often helps to suggest and to stimulate the demand.

Next in importance to our penny tract and periodical literature stands the *Newspaper*. But here, I confess, I cannot but write with disheartened feeling. We stand in the midst of failures. There is yet no family Christian newspaper thoroughly adapted to the homes of the labouring classes.† Pretension has been ludicrously arrogant; but success, either in merit or in attainment, seems almost as far off as ever. Where, in our religious press, do we find the honest and truthful advocacy of catholic Christianity and popular freedom, combined with a style of writing like that which imparts such fascination and power to the leaders of the *Sunday Times* or the *Dispatch*? Coarse and wicked the latter, no doubt, may be; but surely their compressed energy and straightforward clearness might be attained without descending to either vulgarity or vice.

Let it be distinctly understood, that, in a newspaper fitted for the working man's home, *news* and *politics* should be the principal feature. There is no reason why the people should be beguiled of these, or persuaded that they do not want them. They will have them, nevertheless; and why not? There need be no pandering to vile tastes, no dereliction of Christian

* May I venture a criticism on the last-mentioned deservedly admired series of tracts? They would be altogether models of writing for the people, were it not that their honest downright English gets so often intermixed with allusions so recondite, with words so unfamiliar, and, to crown all, with such terrifying Scotticisms, as effectually to scare away the simple, common-place Southern reader. I tried to circulate them once among some plain folk, but it would not do.

† This was written early in 1849. I leave the reader to judge whether the *right thing* has since in any quarter appeared. 1850.

principle, and yet the story of the week's* doings be narrated fully, and commented upon becomingly. Such a newspaper would necessarily be "radical" upon the great popular questions of the day. I have, indeed, spoken but little of politics. Yet, if my positions throughout have been true, it irresistibly follows that the people have a right to full political enfranchisement. It were the worst of mockeries to accord to them, in the social circle, the free rights of perfect manhood, and yet count them as nothing in the state; to cherish faith in their intellectual and moral worth, and yet, by denying them the claim of independent citizenship, to maintain their inferiority and degradation. Equally futile would it be to offer them a journal of political instruction, and to deny them the exercise of political privileges; to compliment their intelligence by seeking them as readers, and to belie the compliment by refusing them the suffrage. A newspaper that is to reach the working classes must first and foremost declare open war against the systems which those classes already discern to be oppressions, and against the pretences they have already denounced as shams. And, with such principles maintained in a consistent, earnest, yet temperate and Christian spirit, it would exert an influence not easy to be computed. True, it would but follow in the wake of those whose work it has been, and still would be, to assert and maintain the abstract principles of freedom, to appeal chiefly to the educated mind of the country, and to do battle perchance with opponents of whom the working classes might never know. It might very likely attain at once a wider popularity and an easier post than these foremost defenders of the truth we love. Not till the flush of triumph has been succeeded by the repose of peace, are the laurels rightly shared. But this is little matter to all who are earnest in the fight; and it cannot be doubted that all who have been separately struggling through weary years for the

* "The *week's*." Why not the *day's*? Only on account of the expense. Mr. Oakey suggests that twenty liberal Christians should lay down £1,000 each, as the *least* preliminary to the establishment of a daily newspaper. Oh for the repeal of newspaper stamp and paper duty!

establishment of great theoretic truths, would be the first to welcome the younger ally, who should seize and combine these several great principles, turn them into practical, popular shape, assert them as a system of demonstrated principles, and make them tell upon the mind and heart of the entire people.

To conclude this whole discussion. I shall be charged, I know, with having placed the rejection by the working classes of popular religious teaching upon its wrong ground. While human depravity remains, it will be said, we shall in vain expect the words of truth, in any form, to gain a ready or a candid hearing. The success of infidel works must, therefore, be attributed, not to their style, but to their infidelity; the influence of licentious works not to their mental power, but to their moral pollution. That there is some truth in such representations is undeniable. Human nature is depraved, I know. I do but contend for wisdom in the application of the remedy. The medicine may be bitter at the best; but this is scarcely a reason for further preparing it in a distasteful manner, or presenting it in a repulsive form. True, it must not be disguised; but it is surely permitted us to administer it in union with what is both wholesome and palatable. Just as humbling to human pride as any doctrines which can now be preached were the doctrines of the Teacher sent from God; yet of them it is written, "The common people heard them gladly." Like Him let us seek the sympathies of the poor, encourage their aspirations, and train their intellects, while we would win their hearts. Let our Christianity manifestly ally itself with all that is free, and generous, and great. Let it shed its own glorious light over home and workshop, over social customs and political laws. Let religious men speak and write in remembrance that godliness hath the promise of the life that now is, as well as of that which is to come; and pulpit and press may again assume the motto, which once was the climax of the Saviour's miracles and the triumph of his cause, "To the poor the Gospel is proclaimed."

CHAPTER IX.

HINTS TO WORKING PEOPLE.

SOME time back I quoted a popular proverb to show its falsehood : "Every one for himself, and God for us all." A kindred aphorism, however, enshrines the highest truth : "God helps them that help themselves." And men will help them, too. Self-reliance, whether in an individual or a class, is the great condition of progress and success. Hitherto I have spoken chiefly of the duties of others to working men ; but now, if they will listen, I would say a word or two upon their duties to themselves.

Remember, above all, I would urge upon them, that you are not dependent for your virtue or your happiness upon the arrival of some new state of things, which is to make you all you wish to be at once ; nor need you be a slave to the evils and imperfections of our present social condition. A true man rises above his circumstances, and conquers them. He knows they would never make him great or good, were they ever so favourable ; for God will not allow that to be done for a man which man is set to do for himself. And, at the same time, he is resolved that, however hard his situation may in some respects be, he will bend the difficulties to his will, and live righteously, soberly, and godly, in spite of them all. Thousands have tried it, and testify that it may be done.

If, then, I say, in the face of oppressions, *be patient*; in the midst of troubles, *be calm*; in a world of temptations, *be resolute*; and in a way of life that is just a living from hand to mouth, and which, do your utmost, you cannot better, *be frugal*;—you must not think that I am throwing away my words, or perplexing you with hard sayings. It is possible, every word of it, and your fellow-labourer who tells you it is not is neither your friend nor his own. True, good circumstances are highly desirable, and all who care for your welfare will join you heart and hand to get them; but, meanwhile, the worst circumstances are improveable, and it will be your fault if they are not improved.

The main spring of your worldly prosperity will be the way in which you economise the fruits of your diligence and frugality, so as to have resources to fall back upon in times when your labour may not be wanted, or when you may be unable to exert it. There are many ways of managing this. I will refer to two or three.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES are common enough. Their principle is a plain one. That which is uncertain with regard to the individual, is certain with regard to the mass. Take a thousand workpeople of the same age. No one can say who of them will be next laid aside by illness, or for how long; who will live longest, or who will die first. But it would be quite possible to foretel, with nearly perfect accuracy, *how many* among them would be disabled from work that year by sickness, how many the next year, and so on; how many would live to old age; and how many would die each year until the last was gone. Observation has shown that, in these matters, there is a certain law upon which we may reckon with complete safety. This is the basis of all friendly and assurance societies. If out of fifty men I can tell, by the law of which I have spoken, that two are likely to be laid up in the year for five weeks each, and if it is thought desirable that each should have eight shillings a week during the illness, there is four pounds to be provided, or one and sevenpence halfpenny from each of the fifty men. This money

might be paid down at the beginning of the year, with a little addition for working the society; or it might be divided into monthly subscriptions through the twelve months, or in any way which convenience or calculation might show to be best. Then, to whichever of the workmen the illness might happen, the money would be ready for him, and the rest would have the satisfaction, not only of having helped their sick brother but of knowing that a provision had been made for themselves also, should they have been brought into the same need.

Such is the simple principle of all insurance and benefit societies. Of course they require much care, and accurate calculation, to discover the certainties of the matter, and to ensure safety. It is, therefore, very important to the working man to determine which he will join.

Have nothing to do with any club that meets at a public-house or beer-shop. These mostly, if not always, waste more than they save, and really benefit nobody but the publican. The "Odd-fellows'" associations, too, the "Foresters," "Druids," and the like, are but suspicious affairs. If their intention is to economise your resources, and provide real help, why do they spend so much of their funds in foolish feasting, and nonsensical parade? I know you will say you get more by these clubs than others, after all, on account of the number of *honorary members*. This is tempting. Yet why should working men throw themselves upon the aid of others? Why not, in this matter, undertake their own cause, and go through it independently? It is true, as in an earlier part of this volume I said, I regard it as a becoming thing for the employers of labour to give their countenance and pecuniary support to friendly societies. But these donations should be free and unsolicited. The calculations of the society should not be at all based upon them. They should invariably be added to the "guarantee fund." The canvassing for honorary subscribers, of which, in some clubs, there is so much, is little more than a disguised mendicancy. And it will surely end in disappointment, if any dependence is placed upon it. Few indeed are the associations begun upon this principle that have

been able to keep up their first tempting proportion between members who subscribe and profit, and members who only subscribe.

But I would turn to particulars. From the rules and tables of many friendly societies lying before me now, I select those of the Western Provident Association, formed at Exeter, 1848, as a fair specimen of what such institutions, properly managed, without intemperance or waste, are able to effect for the labouring classes. The tables are endorsed by Mr. F. G. P. Neison, the eminent actuary, and certified by Mr. Tidd Pratt, who understands more about such societies, perhaps, than any other man living. From an inspection of them, the following facts will appear:—

A man beginning at the age of 21 to subscribe a shilling and a farthing *per month*, will receive during sickness, or incapacity for labour, the sum of ten shillings a week. Contributions and benefit to cease at the age of sixty.

Or, commencing at the same period, a payment of two shillings a month will ensure ten shillings a week, during such incapacity, to the close of life.

A contribution of 4s. 8½d. a month from the age of 21 to that of 60, will insure a provision of ten shillings weekly from the sixtieth birthday to the close of life. No payment to be made after the commencement of the benefit.

A monthly contribution of 1s. 7d. will insure a similar weekly income of ten shillings from the age of 70 onwards.

The payment, from the age of 21, of 3s. 5d. per month, to cease at the age of 60, will provide the sum of £100 at death.

If the payment is not to cease at 60, but to continue through life, the insurance of £100 may be effected for the monthly payment of 3s. 1d.

The contribution from the birth of a child of 5s. 2¼d. per month, will provide for him at the age of 14 the sum of £50. The same premium may be secured at 18 years of age by a similar payment of 3s. 9d., or at 21, by the subscription of 3s. 1d. The whole amount of contribution to be returned, in case the child dies before the time specified. If the agree-

ment is that the money is not in that event to be returned, the monthly payments will be 4s. 9½d., 3s. 5¼d., and 2s. 8½d. respectively.

The same principles are applied to many other cases ; those, for instance, in which contributions begin at a later period, in which different sums are to be assured, in which the benefit is to commence at a more or less advanced age, and so on. The lowest amount for which a life assurance can thus be effected is £5, which may be obtained by a monthly contribution of *a penny three farthings*, if the insuring party commences at the age of 15, of twopence if at 24, of threepence if he defers it to the age of 38, and of fourpence three farthings if he does not begin till 50. The sliding-scale is carried on, of course, through all years intermediate, and the £5 is payable at any time after the commencement of the insurance at which death may occur.

Advantages like these, if but known and understood, will surely be hailed by wise and provident working men. Exeter is not the only town that offers them.* It is high time, indeed,

* I am glad to take the opportunity of copying here a small handbill put forth by the "British Empire Mutual Assurance Company :"—

"A PENNY A DAY.—WHAT CAN I DO WITH IT ?

"I. Are you about THIRTY years of age ? Are you a married man ? Have you some little ones dependent on your exertions ? or, if not, have you a brother, a sister, a nephew, or a niece, to whom you would like to leave SIXTY POUNDS ? The society will insure that sum when you die, whenever that may happen, upon payment of—*a Penny a Day !*

"II. Perhaps you have but one child, and that in its first year ; you may secure to it FORTY-SEVEN POUNDS to be paid at twenty-one years of age to begin business, or to begin housekeeping, for—*a Penny a Day !*

"III. You are labouring, it may be, in a profession which requires strength of body or vigour of mind, which it will not be pleasant to exert so fully after sixty years of age. You may have £121 15s. from the society on the day you complete your sixtieth year, to make the remainder of life comfortable, or an annuity of £12 10s. for life, beginning at that age, and all this for—*a Penny a Day !*

"IV. Are you desirous to save a little money ? You may have

that in every town and city of our land the better part of your class should make an attempt to rescue the benefit system from the foolish and degrading, not to say criminal, practices which too often make it repulsive to honest and temperate men. Where no beginning is yet made, let a few of you join to attempt one. Get the help, if you can, of ministers, and of the officers in Christian churches. They will be but acting out the principles of the truth they teach, as well as conferring an immense good upon their brethren, by assisting to organize institutions of this kind upon the most perfect plan.

The SAVINGS' BANK is another very certain means by which you can economise your means, and secure, to some extent, your pecuniary independence. Whether it is to be preferred to the Friendly Society I will not stay to decide. Some would incline to the latter, because the support is forthcoming there only at the time of need ; whereas the opportunity of drawing money from the bank is often so tempting that they might be induced to do so without necessity, and thus lose the real benefit. Then the advantage of the friendly society begins at once ; that of the savings' bank is not felt until the sum deposited has become large. There is force in these reasons. But then, on the other hand, the money in the Bank is *your own*. There is a sense of property about it, which in the other case there cannot be ; and if there should be temptation in the fact of having the absolute control of it, there is independence, too ; and the temptation cannot be too strong for good sense and principle to overcome. It is astonishing what a sum even a common workman may contrive to get together in a few years if he is only frugal—saving, for instance, from the tobaccoist and publican what labouring people often spend with them, and never permitting himself to grow idle because he is becoming a man of property. The thing only requires a little

TWENTY-FIVE POUNDS in twelve years and a half, with your money returnable with interest, if you want it before that time, by paying half-a-crown per month ; or you may have TWELVE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS in seven years and a quarter for the same payment ; and that is but—*a Penny a Day !*"

resolution and some self-denial at the first. Try it. You will soon be most amply repaid.

There is one way in which the benefit of savings' banks, if general among you, would be most real and important. Times will come in all trades, when wages must either fall or the number of workmen be reduced. There is not enough for all to do, and what there is must either be divided among a larger number than it will maintain, or a part must be in full employment while the rest remain idle for a while. Now, which is best? In the former case wages will not only be reduced, but will have a tendency to remain low. It will be long, after such a depression, before they rise to their former level. The whole class of labourers will sink together. While, on the latter supposition—full wages being paid to all who are at work—when business improves, it will only be for the unemployed to resume their places in the ranks; and it will be not the price of labour, but the number of labourers, that will fluctuate with the successive alternations of commerce. All will admit that this would on every account be a preferable system to the other; but how can it be managed for workmen to be independent during slack employment? I reply, only through economising their means in time of prosperity.

This may be done in one of two ways, either by collective effort or by individual frugality. In Leicester, for instance, in the year 1819, the collective plan was adopted. The framework knitters of that town banded together to keep up wages to what all parties had previously settled was a fair amount. This they did by no foolish strike or equally foolish contest with their masters, but by simple agreement, that only a sufficient number of workers should remain employed to meet the demand. Those who thus were thrown out of work were supported out of a common fund, to which the workpeople all subscribed. The union lasted for six years, some of them years of great commercial depression. Its success was perfect. From a pamphlet, published by Mr. Cort, of Leicester, in 1843, it appears that the sum of £16,182 was distributed among the stocking-makers out of employ, by far the greater

part of which sum had been raised by the workmen themselves in weekly contributions ; besides which, the sum paid in wages during the same period is calculated at £500,000 more than would have been given if the competition for labour had been unchecked. And when prosperity returned, and labour again abounded, the only difference was, that all the workpeople received the wages which during the slack time had been paid to but a part, and that the Union Funds were no longer needful. It would have been a good thing had the workpeople been provident enough to continue the Union subscriptions ; they would have found the benefit of it again and again before this time. But they did not, and I speak from personal observation when I say, that thousands of them now bitterly regret their want of foresight.

It is clear, however, that a plan like this Leicester Union could not be put in practice universally. Such a scheme would only apply to a large, distinct, and mutually-united body of workers in the same trade. The expedient of savings' banks would do for the individual what the Frame-work Knitters' Society did for the mass. It would enable him to withdraw his labour for a time, when there was not enough for all. There would be no immediate necessity to work for miserable wages. He would be able to say to his employer, " Since you have not enough for me and my companion to do, I will give myself a holiday for a while, or turn my hand to some lighter work. We will not divide the loaf ; nor shall you, sir, trade upon our necessities, so as to beat down the price of labour. As there is no more than one man's share of work, let one man do it for fair pay. I can afford to stand by till I am wanted, and can get fair pay again." Marvellous is the power which this would put into the hands of you, working people. It is only because of your way of living " from hand to mouth " that your employers can, when they will, take advantage of slack times, and reduce wages to the miserable insufficiency of which you so often complain. Become capitalists. You will then be able to treat with your masters independently ; and just as they are able in a bad time of trade to fall back upon their

capital, and refuse to work at a loss, so could you fall back on yours. Depend upon it, prosperity and full employment would return much faster on a plan like this than on a system in which commercial depression reduces you to helplessness at once, and places you at the mercy of anybody who may choose to dictate his terms.*

How much better this than a turn out or strike! Did you ever know a strike on a large scale that ended well? Why, the very basis of such a movement is ignorance—utter ignorance of the first laws of trade. A thousand men are all struggling for employment when there is only work for eight hundred. The consequence is, that the proper wages of every eight men have to be divided among ten, and each gets only four-fifths of what he ought on a proper system to have. Ay, it is a chance that he gets less than that, for now he is at his master's mercy. His employer does not really want him, and very likely may use this fact to force his consent to a yet further reduction of wages. But even suppose the master to refrain from doing this, there will evidently be only four-fifths of sufficient work and wages for each labourer. What is the consequence? The whole thousand turn out for the other fifth. Employers resist the claim. For a long time there is stoppage and ruin everywhere. At last the starving families of the workpeople give the masters a power which the men cannot any longer resist. They are forced to submit. But they yield as a conquered enemy, with bitterness and hatred. And thus are seeds of strife and disaffection sown which are sure to spring up in many a terrible harvest!†

* This subject is very fully and powerfully discussed by Dr. Chalmers in his "Christian and Civic Economy of Large Towns," chapter xix.

† This is the general character of a turn-out. There have, perhaps, been exceptions; but, at the best, the expedient is doubtful. The engine-drivers' strike, some time back, on the London and North-Western Railway, was perhaps as good a specimen as could be quoted. It cannot be denied that there public opinion was with the men. But even they mainly conquered because others could not be procured of sufficient skill to do the work.

Whereas, if two hundred of the men had been able to say, We will go play for a time, or will work a little for ourselves, and will wait till the depression is over, the whole thing would have been set right. Wages would have kept their level, and when sufficient work for a thousand had returned, the thousand would have been ready to do it. Or if there should seem no chance of restored prosperity, for there is such a thing as permanent ruin to a manufacture, we know the worst of that. The two hundred men, like other capitalists, would be able to take their toil and skill elsewhere, or might perhaps seek a more prosperous home afar in that new southern world which is only now disclosing its vast resources, and which holds out a promise to frugality and industry that has never been broken even to the pauper emigrant, and that to the independent labourer will assuredly be more than fulfilled.

If again you would add to pecuniary independence the possession of political right, you may *become freeholders*. "The price of political emancipation is down in the market. You can purchase freedom and forty shillings a year for nineteen pounds. The Birmingham Freehold Land Society reports the emancipation of between thirty and forty working men monthly, for the first sixteen months of its existence. Many similar societies are at work, and they are among the best signs of the times. £19 is only 4,560 pence. The petitioners for Universal Suffrage last year (not reckoning that farrago of forgeries appended to the 'Charter' petition) were 2,018,880; and those for the extension of the Suffrage, 290,559; making a total of 2,302,439. One penny a piece from each would qualify 506 electors, and as many more every time of repeating the subscription. We bought the freedom of the negro slaves at a higher rate. An amount equal to the proceeds of the freeholds thus purchased might be expected as an annual contribution from the parties benefited, until they had repaid the intervention on their behalf. The emancipation fund would be cumulative in its effect. Nor is this the only mode of action open to the working classes. They may combine in their hire

of house-room, and, either by election or rotation, make no small portion of their number ten-pounders. These expedients go much further than crowding, shouting, and getting into intense excitements. Their employment would evince earnestness and fitness, and be proof of those habits of carefulness, forethought, self-denial, and perseverance, which not only deserve but command success. A single county election, won by the votes of working men, would be the certain herald of an extensive reform in the representation.”*

I only add to these wise and striking counsels, that to you, who may by such means win the franchise, that trust will become especially solemn. You will for a time be the representatives, not of your own interests merely, but of those of your whole class. It will be for you to stand in their forefront, and do battle in their cause. If you sink into selfish ease, and, possessed yourselves of political independence, forbear to help them in the continued struggle for theirs, you will be little less than traitors. True, you will have gained the rights of citizenship by virtue of existing laws ; but remember *those laws never meant it*, nor do legislators approve it now. It must then be your strong and honest endeavour, from your vantage-ground, to urge on the movement, which will issue, sooner or later, in the establishment of the rights that by industry you have won, as the equal and indefeasible heritage of all.

By frugality, then, and combination, you may do much. You little know your real power even yet. Only cease to expend your energies in “sound and fury, signifying nothing,” and they will be irresistible. After all that I have said to other classes, the main secret of your welfare lies with yourselves. Be in earnest for your own improvement. Remember that your mind is your own, in all its native powers, in all its free determinations. If you will, you may so enrich and strengthen it as to feel, amid all your toil, that you have within you glorious possessions, beyond a monarch’s diadem, such as the world could neither give nor take away. You may earn

* W. J. Fox. Preface to his last volume of “Lectures to the Working Classes.”

and keep the position of a man amongst men—upright, free, and independent. Or, if you choose, you may grovel. One day sottishly self-indulgent, the next you may cringe like a slave, and either way act as though your soul were not your own. For, depend upon it, if you will be abject, the world will help to keep you so. Lay down your neck to be trodden upon, and many a heel will be ready to crush it. I know that the struggle for you may be hard, if you are determined to be manful; but none ever stood up to it bravely who did not conquer. And now listen. If you would thus live in earnest, you will want the aid of RELIGION. This is God's world in which we live, and those only who serve him can expect in any true sense to inherit the earth. Believe me, there is no cant or delusion in this. The hypocrisy of professing Christians may have disgusted you; you may have been repelled by finding that in your struggles for light and freedom they lent no helping hand; but there is something in Christianity after all. The Bible is the poor man's book. The Gospel is the poor man's richest hope, not for heaven only, but for earth. Take it on its own word, not on mine, or on any man's. Accept the deliverance which it offers you from the mastery of selfishness and sin. Then, with God as your friend, you may go forth to the world and to toil, strong in resolutions which only the might of Christian principle will enable you worthily to fulfil; prepared to make the best of what is good, to encounter what is evil, and to act out your earthly duties, as well as to assert your earthly rights, in the spirit of a citizen of heaven.

I have no patent plan for making you happy or great. I do not pretend to have discovered any universal remedy for social evils. These will last, in one form or other, as long as men rebel against Him who made them. Let them learn to live in harmony with his laws, and then, but not before, will reform be certain and complete. True, it may be a long time before social wrongs are thus redressed. The "good time" may delay its "coming" till expectant hearts grow sad and faint. But its progress is ordained by Him with whom "one

day is as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day." It "cometh not with observation," for it is the kingdom of God. And while impatient reformers and empiric politicians point to their favourite plans and cry, Lo, here! or there! I would turn to the mind and heart of the people and say: The kingdom of God is within you. It is there—in your earnest convictions and your religious life. Nowhere else can it be sought. And thence will it extend in silent omnipotence, gathering into the track of its triumphs all things wise and great which men can do, and pursuing its irresistible course over the ruins of prostrate systems of error and wrong until the world's laws are all brought into harmony with itself; and sooner perhaps than now we dare to hope the mighty thunderrings of that hallelujah shall be heard, in which heaven and earth shall proclaim that "THE KINGDOMS OF THIS WORLD ARE BECOME THE KINGDOM OF OUR GOD AND OF HIS CHRIST."

APPENDIX.

WE subjoin some particulars respecting the poor and working classes—the circumstances under which they live and labour—gathered from various sources; and which, it is thought, may serve to illustrate and enforce many of the arguments of the preceding Essay.

The public attention of late has been much directed to the subject of labour and the poor. The increasing difficulties experienced by industry in its competition with capital, the tendency of wages to fall below the subsistence point, the existence of deep misery and acute privation amongst the classes whose labour is the foundation of our national greatness as a commercial people, and the almost resistless temptations to dishonesty and other crimes presented by this state of things, were felt by many to be social evils, which, the most imperative necessity demanded, should be at once mitigated. Foremost amongst the agents by whose intelligent and laborious investigations the actual condition of the operatives and the poor has been exposed to light, we cannot but express our sense of the obligations under which the public lie to the Commissioners of the *Morning Chronicle* newspaper. To the facts recorded in their communications we are indebted for many of the particulars that follow.

STATISTICS OF LABOUR AND REMUNERATION.

The pursuits of industry are so numerous and varied, that we cannot attempt, in the space to which we are necessarily limited, to do more than make a selection of facts, *exempli gratia*, which may serve to illustrate the general value of labour in its several departments in England, and the circumstances of comparative comfort or privation which the existing rates of wages place within the reach of the operative.

From the statements that follow it will be seen, in the first place, that the average amount of remuneration received by the working classes is insufficient to provide the *material conditions* of domestic happiness; and, in the second place, that the tendency of wages has been, for a considerable period of time, and still is, to fall.

The price of labour is affected by various circumstances. In large towns the principal cause of its depression is to be found in the competition of tradesmen to undersell each other. The operation of this constant anxiety to produce a cheaper article than any other house is strikingly seen in the

SLOP-TAILORING TRADE OF LONDON.—In the tailoring business there are two classes of workmen employed. Those connected with what are termed “honourable employers,” who execute bespoke work, are comparatively intelligent and well to do; whilst the others, who work for the slop-shops, live in a condition of deepest misery, the result of a combination of excessive labour, wretched pay, and filthy homes. The slop-establishments are, for the most part, situated in the eastern end of the metropolis, and are extensive concerns, employing a vast number of hands. The leading house, the great show-shop of the trade, occupies the space of seven houses. In conjunction with the business of tailors, this firm carries on every branch of trade connected with clothing; each of which is understood to be conducted on the same grinding system.

Many attempts have been made to obtain a list of the prices paid to the workmen, but the most successful of these endeavours only reach an approximation to the truth. The great difficulty in the accomplishment of the task is, in the first place, the indisposition of the employers, in most cases, to allow their profits to become known. The middle-men of the tailoring trade are all incommunicative on this point. The next difficulty arises from the incapacity of the working people to enter into calculations of the amount of their yearly earnings, and the fact that a vast number who receive work at second hand, or, in some cases, of third parties, keep no account or

reckoning of their own expenses in the production of that work, nor of their daily or weekly gains. These and other circumstances render it almost impossible to reach the truth. Several meetings of operative tailors have, however, been held, and the statements made at these have thrown much light upon the subject. We append such particulars as a comparison of these statements and some other sources of information supply.

The general statistics of the tailoring trade in London may be thus given. The number of journeymen employed in the year 1844 was 21,000. Of these, there were about 6,000 at work under the west-end masters, and 15,000 in the service of those at the east-end. The show and slop shops in the east amount to about eighty, and many of them employ from two to three hundred men each. The system of slop-working, though chiefly prevailing in this district, is by no means confined to it. It has of late years extended to the west, and is patronised, for the sake of a small saving, by many of the wealthiest nobles of the land, and the clergy and high dignitaries of the church. Of the 6,000 operatives employed at the west-end, it is estimated that as many as 4,000 are now connected with the "dishonourable" part of the trade; and from the rate at which the old system is annually yielding to the new, it is calculated that the whole of the legitimate tailoring business will, in the course of twenty years, have completely merged in the slop-shops, and the wages of all the men pursuing this craft have sunk from 18s., the "honourable" average, to 11s. the slop average.

Many of the large show-shops, whose trade consists in the sale of ready-made articles, carry on their business through *sweaters*; and as this term will frequently recur, in connection not only with the tailors, but the needle-women of London also, it may be well to explain it. The sweater is a sort of middle-man, or second master, who takes out work from the shop-keeper, and gives it to the operatives. He receives payment from the shopkeeper, and himself pays the workmen, deducting, of course, a certain sum as his profit out of the transaction. Thus, small as is the remuneration paid for labour by the master, a considerable portion of this is intercepted by the middle-man, and never finds its way to the pocket of the artisan.

The system has arisen thus: Amongst the honourable branch of the trade, it has always been the custom for the workman to pursue his avocation under the roof of his master; but in the slop-trade the work is put out, and in this case the employer requires security to the value of the goods. The

amount of permanent security usually demanded is £5. Not many poor artisans can command this, and, in consequence, they are not trusted with work by the masters. The few men who can get the requisite security take out the work, and employ others to execute it at reduced prices. Such is the system called sweating, which prevails in most departments of industry connected with clothing.

To the sweaters, and their desire to grasp as large a portion of the wages paid by the master as possible, is attributed by the workpeople generally the introduction of female labour, and the employment of children in the tailoring trade. Various statements are made as to the amount of profit obtained by the middle-men. It would appear, from the positive declarations of the workmen, and taking the testimony of those most moderate in their estimates, that at least one-fourth, or twenty-five per cent., of the wages paid by the masters are thus absorbed.

In spite of the innumerable hardships connected with this branch of industry, young men are continually pouring into London in search of employment; and when unable to find it at the west-end, come down into the city, and so increase the already-excessive competition. Labour is generally extended over the whole seven days of the week, not from choice on the part of the workmen, but from necessity. Yet toiling for seven days, from early morning till midnight, many young men who come up from the country bear testimony that they are unable to earn so much, under the slop system, as they used to receive during the first years of their apprenticeship. One case in point was that of a young tailor from Ipswich, who, having fallen into the hands of a sweater, engaged to work for him from seven in the morning till twelve at night, boarding with him. On Saturday, instead of having anything to receive, he was brought in 6d. in debt.

At a meeting of operatives, it was estimated by them that the average earnings of the men engaged in slop-work were from 9s. 7½d. to 8s. clear per week. The aggregate income of seventy-one hands, then present, amounted, in one week, to £34 11s. 1d., or 9s. 4d. each, which was reduced to 8s. by the expenses the men had to defray.

A small room was visited in which seven tailors were busy on the floor, stitching different garments. Beside them were two young girls at work, one of them sitting with her legs crossed like the men. One of the men said he had worked very hard that week—from seven in the morning till eleven at night—and his gross earnings would be 13s. Deducting from that, 4s. for bed and coffee, morning and evening, and 1s. 6d.

for thread, that would leave him 7s. 6d. clear earnings for the week, including Sunday; 8s. was his average gross wages, taking the year through, or 5s. 9d. after making deductions, as above. The men agreed in saying they were obliged to work on Sundays; and, as it was, could not keep a coat to their backs. Wages, they added, had decreased much lately, and the tendency was still downwards. The coats they received 5s. for two years ago only, they were then making for 3s. 6d.; others had come down in the same time from 7s. to 5s. They said, whatever prices the masters offered they were obliged to accept, or they must starve. The general result arrived at from these inquiries, with reference to this branch of the tailoring trade, is, that prior to 1834 the operative was never compelled to seek the assistance of his wife or family, as he then worked at the shop, and brought home from 30s. to 36s. a week; whilst now, with the overstrained exertions of his wife and children added to his own, his income is less than half that sum.

The worst-paid work is the making-up the contract clothes for the army, navy, police, &c. In the following tabular statement are illustrations. The prices actually paid the workmen are shown, in connection with those which, in the opinion of fully-competent and impartial judges, *ought* to be paid them, to secure the means of even a bare subsistence:—

ARMY SUPPLIES BY CONTRACT.

Greatcoat for army and artillery contracted for, first for the materials, then for making-up, under 1s. each, including cutting, &c. It takes seven to eight hours to make one coat. Some women can only make one in the day, say three in two days, paid at 5d. each; per week, 3s. 9d. Deduct 9d. for thread, leaves 3s. for lodging, clothing, living, and candles.

DESCRIPTION OF WORK.	Time taken in its performance.	Actual price.	Lowest price that should be paid.
<i>Royal Artillery.</i>	Hours.		
Private's coat	18 to 20	1s. 7d. to 1s. 8d.	3s. 6d. to 4s.
Trowsers with stripe	7	6½d.	1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d.
[Must work almost all night to get food, and often on Sunday too.]			
Greatcoat with strap	8	5½d.	1s. 6d. to 2s.
<i>Military Pensioners.</i>			
Blue cloth coat, double-breasted, } with much work	days. 1½	2s. 2d.	4s. 6d.
Blue cloth trowsers	..	6d.	..
<i>Clothing for Convicts.</i>	hours.		
Jacket with stripe (thread ½d.)...	5	3d.	9d. to 1s.
Trowsers do.	4	3d.	9d. to 1s.
Waistcoat	2	1½d.	4d. to 6d.
Party-coloured overalls (two pair)	10 or 11	5d.	9d. to 1s.

PRICES PAID BY ARMY CLOTHIERS, &c.

DESCRIPTION OF WORK.	Time taken in its performance.	Actual price.	Lowest price that should be paid.
<i>2nd and 3rd Regts. of Guards.</i>	Hours.		
Private's coat.....	15 to 16	2s. to 2s. 2d.	3s. to 3s. 4d.
„ trowsers.....	6	6½d. to 8d.	10d.
White kersey jacket	6	6d. to 6½d.	10d.
<i>Infantry Privates.</i>			
Coats	10 to 12	1s. 2d.	1s. 9d. to 2s.
Trowsers	4½ to 5	6d. to 7d.	9d.
East India jacket	..	9d. to 11d.	1s. 4d.
<i>Rifle Brigade.</i>			
Coat.....	..	1s. 9d.	2s. 6d.
Trowsers	..	6½d.	9d.
<i>17th Lancers.</i>			
Blue coat	13	2s.	2s. 6d.
<i>Army Necessaries.</i>			
Calico shirts.....	7 or 8	4½d.	10d. to 1s.
[Can make two in a day of 14 or 16 hours: six of these days in a week at 9d., yield 4s. 6d. Out of this has to pay 2s. for a room, candles 1d. a night, coal 6d., thread 4d., leaving 1s. 2d., if fully employed, and in health to work 14 or 16 hours per day.]			
Summer trowsers.....	6 to 7	7d.	10d. to 1s.
Undress jacket	..	10d.	1s. 4d.
Haversacks, coarse duck	2	1d.	..
Duck Frocks	..	2½d. to 3d.	..
[Can make four in a long day. Four at 3d., 1s.; deduct thread 1½d., candle 1d., leaves 9½d.]			
Flannel shirts.....	..	3d. to 4d.	..
Flannel drawers	..	3d.	..
[Can make four in a day of each of the above.]			

We now come to the case of the females who apply themselves to the needle in quest of a living. Of the many thousands of this class found in London, there are innumerable grades. Generally speaking, the condition of the needlewoman is miserable and forlorn beyond description; but there are some who contrive to make a comfortable subsistence.

Such are those engaged in making up furs—that is, in lining and piecing the various articles formed of that material. This is a branch of female industry tolerably remunerative. In times of brisk trading, as much as £2 may *occasionally* be earned in a

week. Victorines and muffs are paid for at the rate of 1s. 6d. to 3s. per dozen, and as it is calculated that a good worker may line six victorines in a day, we have here a result of 9s. a week. Muffs are paid for at the rate of 4s. a dozen, and of these three to four dozen may be finished in a week. The prices vary, according to the kind of fur, and the workwomen usually furnish their own thread and cotton. On some work little is earned, and the employment is *not continuous*. There are many weeks during which there is little or nothing to do. The workwomen also suffer much from caprices of fashion and unfavourable seasons. From these causes the *average* earnings are reduced to about 8s. a week.

Another class of female operatives, whose wages may be considered fair, are those engaged in embroidery work, such as the letters and figures on policemen's coats, and on those of railway servants. The prices paid for embroidery have of late been much reduced. It appears that from 1s. to 1s. 6d. is now paid for work which formerly brought in from 5s. to 6s. In some cases the reduction has been enormous. Thus cardinals, for which 16s. used to be paid, are now done for 2s. 6d. Still the average earnings of this class are said to be from 12s. to 15s. a week.

It is in shirt-making and tailoring, strictly so called, that the lowest wages are earned. The following particulars are from the statements of various needle-women:—One was in the habit of making almost everything—amongst other articles, shirts. For these the highest price she received was 2s. 6d. a dozen. Some were paid for as low as 1s., or only 1d. each. Of twopenny ones she could make three in a day, working from eight in the morning until ten at night. She usually made eighteen in the week, finding her own trimmings, cotton, and thread, everything but buttons, out of 2s. for a dozen. Shirts she considered the worst work. At flannel drawers she could make from 7½d. to 9d. in a day; but from that, three-halfpence must be deducted for thread, &c., besides the expense of light. For moleskin trowsers was paid 6s. a dozen, the commonest, and 10s. the best. She could not make more than one pair of either kind in a day, and the thread cost three-halfpence. Blouses were from 5s. to 7s. a dozen. She might make one of the highest-price ones in a day. After enumerating many other particulars, she added, that she had worked at the business for ten years, and found that, whether employed upon one article or another, she could not earn more than 4s. 6d. to 5s. a-week, working from eight till ten, and out of that she had to pay 1s. 6d. for thread and 6d. for candles. That left her about 3s. But she could not do without fire to press

her work, and that cost as much as 9d., so that her clear receipts were "a little bit more than 2s.—say 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. a week."

Another worked at rowing shirts, and had done so for eight years. When she began she was paid 3s. 6d. a dozen; she now receives 2s. for the same work. She produced an account-book, the entries in which extended over a period of seventeen weeks. In the whole time she had earned £2 12s. 4d., or an average of 2s. 10½d. per week, from which the cost of candles, thread, &c., amounting perhaps to the odd 10½d., was to be deducted; thus leaving her 2s. a week clear.

We give one more instance,—that of a poor woman, whose house presented a picture of neatness, the result of old habits and a hard struggle to conceal her poverty from the world. She was a waistcoat-maker. Her greatest earnings were 4s. a week, her lowest 2s. 6d., and the general average 3s. She was often out of work for weeks, and in want of common necessities to "keep strength and life together." At that moment she had "no money anywhere, not a penny—not a farthing—in the house; and that after six-and-twenty years' hard work."

A young woman, almost lady-like in appearance and manners, said, she made waistcoats and received 10d. each; the very same for which 5s. was paid when she was an apprentice. Some weeks she could make four, sometimes less. Half a day each week was wasted in taking her work home. At 2s. each she might live, but as it was she was starving, and could not think what would become of her, if her friends did not help her.

At a meeting of female slop-workers, attended by 1,000 or 1,200 of this class, various questions were addressed to them with the view of eliciting the particulars of their condition.

With reference to their physical necessities, they were asked, How many had under-clothing? and *three* or *four* hands were uplifted. How many had not a complete dress? Nearly the whole of the meeting signified their destitution in this respect; and it appeared that 508 had borrowed some article of clothing to enable them to appear at the meeting. 169 had been compelled to pledge their work in order to obtain necessities. The average deductions from their earnings, by the sweater, was said to be 3d. in every shilling. It was ascertained, that, of the entire number present, only 58 were in possession of blankets (this was in December); that 151 had no beds to lie on; that 45 had been compelled to pawn their beds to avoid starvation, and that 180 had been obliged to sell their beds altogether. During the preceding week, 464 had applied for parochial relief, and 236 obtained it. In 259 cases assistance had been denied; and it was stated that slop-work was taken in in

several London workhouses. On the question being put, How many had earned 8s. during the week? not a hand was held up; 7s. was tried, with alike result. Five had earned 6s.; twenty-eight, 5s.; twelve, 4s. 6d.; one hundred and forty-two, 3s.; one hundred and fifty, 2s. 6d.; seventy-one, 2s.; eighty-two, 1s. 6d.; ninety-eight, under 1s.; and two hundred and twenty-three had had no work at all. Extensive personal inquiries ascertained that the average earnings of 811 persons amounted to two shillings and ten-pence halfpenny per week each. The cost of materials, such as thread, &c., was of course to be deducted from that sum.

From the testimony borne generally by the needle-women working for the slop-shops, it may be inferred that the average wages of the class is from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per week.

The other departments of industrial pursuits connected with clothing are affected similarly by the operation of the slop system, though not to the same extent. The price received for his labour by the hatter, the bootmaker, &c., averages something higher than that paid to the operative tailor.

The foregoing facts are illustrative of the workings of the system in the metropolis; but it must not be supposed that it is confined to London. It is at work in all our considerable towns, and is rapidly extending to others of smaller size. Indeed, if not checked, it threatens speedily to supersede everywhere the old and legitimate mode of business.

We take some other illustrations of the value of labour in London, selecting them from the different branches into which industrial pursuits may be classified.

THE SPITALFIELDS WEAVERS belong to what are denominated skilled workmen. They state that the depreciation in the value of their labour, since the year 1839, amounts at least to 15 or 20 per cent. In 1839 the average earnings of each hand was 7s. a week; now it is only 5s. 9d. A man employed in making silk velvet, said he should receive 3s. 6d. per yard for it. Up to 1824, 6s. was paid for the same work. Another was weaving for 10d. a yard, silk, which he received 1s. a yard for only six months back.

THE HUCKSTERS OF LONDON.—A large number of the labouring poor of London gain their livelihood by means of small traffic. They are called hucksters, and ply their trade either at fixed or portable stalls, or by hawking their wares through the streets. These dealers include men, women, and children of both sexes. They barter in every variety of article—ballads and play-bills,

bouquets, fruit, baked potatoes, fish, &c. &c. They may be seen in greatest numbers in the vicinity of the various street-markets, on Saturday nights and Sunday mornings. The markets at Lambeth, Bethnal Green, and Somerstown, are each frequented by upwards of 300 hucksters. Of these street-markets there are in all fifteen; but the trade is not confined to their locality. It is carried on at every available street-corner, or by perambulating the thoroughfares with baskets or barrows of goods. It is exceedingly difficult to estimate the income of these small tradesmen, their business is so precarious, so affected by weather and other uncontrollable circumstances. That many of them receive a fair amount of earnings is evident from the fact, that they spend large sums in drink. The itinerant fish-venders are said to average an expenditure in drink of 5s. a week, which they justify on the ground of their constant exposure, and regard as part of the necessary outlay of business. It is clear, however, that only *some* of the hucksters can possibly spend money like this. The following are a few particulars of income, as far as they can be ascertained:—

The Baked-Potato Trade lasts for six months of the year, and is considered tolerably profitable. The potatoes are bought at the rate of 5s. 6d. the cwt. A cwt. contains from 200 to 300. 9d. is paid for baking. A small capital is required to commence business, the stand and steam-apparatus for keeping the potatoes warm costing from 30s. to £5. The business is found to depend much upon the weather. The total average of baked potatoes sold daily in the metropolis is 7 tons—*i. e.*, 42 tons in the week, for which £600 is paid by the consumers. Many of the hucksters plying this craft are broken-down tradesmen who have seen better days. Some are artizans thrown out of work, and some labourers. The average profits of the trade, during the season, are said to be as much as 30s. a week. After the potatoes go out, the hucksters generally take to sell strawberries, raspberries, or anything else, as it comes in season.

The Venders of Fried Fish are a numerous class. They live in low neighbourhoods, because persons object to the smell occasioned by frying the fish. Boys and girls, as well as men, are employed in this traffic. They buy the fish in pots containing seventy or eighty, and pay for them from 1s. to 1s. 6d. Deducting the cost of oil, flour, &c., in which they fry them, they make a clear profit of 11d. out of each pot. A pot takes about two days, when the sale is good, to get rid of. The summer is their best season; they then average about 5s. a week clear profit, but in the winter only 2s. 6d. a week. They are exposed to all weathers.

Watercress Dealers are generally very old or very young persons. Many of the old men have been good mechanics in their best days, but have advanced too far in years to labour at their trade, and having no provision laid up, are obliged to resort to such means to get bread. The business is a very trying one. The cresses are sent up from the country in hampers, and are bought by the venders in such lots as their means allow them to command. An old man said—"I should think, in a spring morning, there's four or five hundred on 'em down at Farringdon-market at one time—between four and five in the morning. I think there's more than a thousand old and young about the streets in the trade. The sellers usually goes to market with a few pence. I myself goes down there, and lays out my fourpence. Sometimes I lay out twopence or threepence, according as how I has the halfpence in my pocket. Many a one goes down to the market with only three-halfpence, and glad to have that to get a halfpenny or anything, so as to earn a mouthful of bread—a bellyful, that they can't get nohow. Ah! many a time I walked through the streets and picked a piece of bread that the servants chucked out of the door—maybe to the birds—I've gone and picked it up when I've been right hungry." The average receipts of the persons engaged in selling cresses are, on Saturday and Sunday, 1s. each day in winter, and 2s. in spring; on the other days, from 9d. to 1s. They *clear* in winter about 5d. a day, and in spring 6d. Taking into account the extra sale on Saturdays and Sundays, they may be said to earn about 3s. 1d. per week in winter, and 4s. 6d. per week in summer.

The Sheep's-Trotter Venders are described as "the poorest wretches on the face of the earth." They are chiefly low Irish. Here is a specimen:—A man said he and his wife had been in this line six years. Their average income per week is 3s. throughout the year. They don't average 6d. a night. They often return home and have only taken 2d. or 3d. They have a daughter, 25 years old, paralysed. Whilst they are out selling their trotters, they are obliged to lock her up, "without any one but the Lord to take care of her." Out of the 3s. a week they pay 1s. 6d. rent, so that 1s. 6d. is all they have to depend upon.

The Lucifer-Match Trade is regarded by the poor as the very last shift. It is resorted to by those who cannot earn a penny by any other means. Many are persons who have been discharged from hospitals, friendless and penniless; and women, who have been for a time in the House of Correction. A soldier's widow said, she never sold more than two dozen boxes, which left her a profit of 5d. in a day. In bad weather she

sells hardly any, and has sometimes to walk the streets all night for want of shelter. She added, that she knew very many in the same condition as herself.

Such are the means by which many thousands of the poor of London struggle with starvation.

TEXTILE MANUFACTURES.

The various branches of textile manufacture have their principal seats in several distinct localities in the provinces. Leicestershire is famous for its woollen, Nottinghamshire for its cotton, and Derbyshire for its silk hosiery. Woollen cloths are made in Yorkshire, cotton goods in Lancashire, and parts of Cheshire, &c. &c.

The cotton manufacture is at present chiefly carried on by the factory system, and the making of silk and cloth goods partially so, whilst woollen and cotton hosiery is produced mainly by the labours of handloom weavers. Under the operation of the factory system, as in Manchester, there is a fair amount of comfort existing, as long as trade is prosperous. But the fluctuations in the demand for labour are so great, that no two extremes could be found more striking than those presented in the home of a factory operative when in full employment, and by the same home when the mills are closed through the slackness of trade.

The general condition of the frame-work knitters is described as one of miserable depression. They appear to labour without zeal or hope. Of the different branches into which the trade is divided, the Derby silk glove manufacturers are said to be the best off and the most intelligent, and the Nottingham stocking weavers the most removed from them in these particulars. Almost without any exception, the homes of this class of artizans are squalid and neglected-looking.

Leicester is the principal seat of the woollen hosiery manufacture; and in the town and country of that name there are 20,000 frames at work, employing a population of about 35,000 persons. A man's fair average wages is about 20s. a week. In some branches, such as glove work, superior hands can earn as much as 25s., whilst, on the other hand, there are some branches in which the average sinks as low as 12s. An examination of the pay-books of a large establishment gave the following results :—

					s.	d.
Wool sorters (men)	-	-	-	-	18	0
Washers	-	-	-	-	16	0
Boys (their assistants)	-	-	-	-	2	0
Carders (women)	-	-	-	-	7	0
Preparers	-	-	-	-	6	10
Spinners	-	-	-	-	7	6

In the plain hosiery trade of Leicester one-third of the operatives are women.

The silk hosiery manufacture is carried on to a great extent in Derby. The factory-system does not prevail, the work being generally done in shops belonging to middle-men or second masters, by whom frames are lent out at 1s. each per week, and standing-room in the shops charged 3d. per week. In a large silk-hose knitting shop visited, the men stated that, in addition to the above charges, they have to pay 9d. in wages for winding, 3d. for the needles they use, and 6d. for fat to burn in their lamps. They estimated their wages at 8s. or 8s. 6d. a week for a full week's work—*i. e.*, working on Monday and Saturday for twelve hours, and the rest of the week fourteen hours daily.

The earnings of the silk-ribbon weavers are much higher. The following table shows thus :—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Men - - - - -	20	0	to	25	0
Average of a summer month, with good light, and no gas to pay for (weekly)	23	9	to	0	0
Average of a winter month's clear earnings (weekly)	19	0	to	0	0
Young women - - - - -	7	6	to	9	3
Girls about thirteen - - - - -	3	6	to	0	0

WORKERS IN THE DYE-HOUSE.

Labourers - - - - -	16	0	to	18	0
Dyers - - - - -	25	0	to	30	0

Broad or piece-silk weaving, in and around Derby, is a branch of manufacture but very recently introduced. The following are about the amount of wages earned on the average by those who follow this pursuit :—

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Men - - - - -	11	0	to	20	0
Women - - - - -	5	0	to	15	0

The Norwich Weavers.—The condition of the hand-loom weavers of Norfolk for years continued to get more and more depressed until the year 1844, in which wages would appear to have fallen to the lowest possible amount. In that year the Weavers' Union published a statement of their then earnings, compared with those of the year 1829, according to which it appeared that the price for a piece of work seventy yards long was 6s. 4½d. The most skilful and expert men could only weave, on an average, one of these pieces per week; and the 6s. 4½d. he received for this was reduced by the expenses of winding, candles, &c., to 5s. 3d. This statement drew atten-

tion to the subject; and the consequence was, that a scale of prices was mutually agreed on between masters and workmen, in 1846. What the remuneration received by the weavers under this scale at present are, will appear from their statements. A woman, who did the best kind of barege-work, and described herself as being rather a privileged person, said if she commenced work at light, and continued it without interruption till eleven at night, she could weave 11 dozen skeins of yarn in a week, for which she should receive 13d. a dozen; or, in all, 11s. 11d. Of this she should have to pay a girl to do the winding 2s., and her dinner daily and other expenses would amount to 10d.; thus leaving her 9s. 1d., working the week through from day-break to within an hour of midnight.

A fancy barege-maker, a man, said he had earned about 8s., taking one week with another. With the children to do the winding, sometimes he had got as much as 14s. in a week. But the work was very irregular, and sometimes he did not earn 6d. It would take from 7s. to 8s. a week for bread, if they all had as much as they wanted. It never cost less than 6s., and he had to pay 1s. 9d. per week. The state of the family is described as extremely destitute and wretched.

A paramatta-weaver said he worked from six in the morning till ten at night, and *when at work* could earn 10s. a week; but he had to pay for winding, and 7½d. for candles. His average wages he set down at 8s. a week. He had six children; his wife was then confined, and a gentleman had sent her some soup. From this he picked out a bit of meat, which was the first he had tasted for many months. For years he had not gone out except to get work. He had no clothes to go to church in. When he did go out he was so weak that the fresh air often seemed too much for him, and he staggered and rolled as if he were drunk. An examination of his employer's pay-book quite corroborated this man's statements as to wages.

A widow, whose occupation was weaving gauzes, or crape, was found weaving a piece for which she should get 4s. 6d. Such a piece measured, when completed, 32½ yards, and would occupy her a week and a half. She was sometimes a fortnight over a piece. Her children did the winding for her. When she began crape-weaving she could get 14s. a piece for it, and then it was a better material and the work could be done much quicker. She paid 1s. 7d. a week rent, and was allowed 3s. from the parish for her children. The selling price of crape-gauze is from 3s. to 4s. a yard. The amount paid to the weavers for making it, is three-halfpence a yard.

A silk handkerchief-weaver said, that by working fourteen hours a day, he could finish two dozen in ten days. For that

he would be paid 16s. His own expenses, to be deducted from this sum, for candles and assistance, amounted to 4s. 2½d., leaving him 11s. 9½d. for ten days' work. He had to play a long time before he could get a job after one was finished.

The earnings of the other branches of the Norwich trade do not materially differ. In some, indeed, as much as 2s. 6d. or 3s. a day can be occasionally made; but the employment is very uncertain; much time is occupied in preparing the looms for the work, before the actual operation commences; and, in short, the universal testimony of the men is, that throughout the year they "play more than half their time."

Of the Worsted and Stuff Manufacture of Yorkshire, Halifax and Bradford are the centres. In some factories visited, the mechanism was almost entirely looked after by young women and girls, at the wages of 5s. and 5s. 6d. Overlookers (men) earned from 15s. to 22s. The following were stated by a foreman to be the average incomes of the several classes of work-people:—Adult males (exclusive of weavers) about 17s. a week; female adults, 6s. or 6s. 3d.; young persons, from thirteen to eighteen, about 4s. 9d.; children, from eight to thirteen, 1s. 9d. to 2s. 3d. In the weaving department the wages of men and women averaged about 8s. a week.

A weaver stated that he earned 8s. or 9s. on an average,—with the best sort of work, and plenty of it, he could earn 15s.; but the trade was dying out. His wages used to be double their present amount.

Throughout the whole of the districts of which we have now been speaking, the system prevails of making abatements from the amount of wages nominally allowed, in the shape of fines for alleged deficiencies in the work, or want of punctuality in its execution. The hardship of heavy fines inflicted under the latter pretext, is also grievously complained of by the needlewomen and slopkeepers of London. As an illustration of the extent to which the system of abatement is carried, it may be stated, as a fact, quoted at random from a mass of tabular statistics, that out of £265 10s. 8d. of wages, nominally, earned by 171 weavers in Yorkshire, £45 12s. 3d. were abated in consequence of alleged imperfections in the work.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS.

The condition of this class differs to some extent, according to the particular circumstances of each district, and the comparative prosperity of each season. These variations are not,

however, of sufficient importance to render necessary a separate reference to each county.

In the great rural district comprising the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, and containing a population of 156,000 persons, looking to agriculture alone for subsistence, elaborate calculations show a result of about £21 per annum as the average amount of wages paid to each labourer, *i. e.*, about 8s. a week.

Dorsetshire has long had a bad pre-eminence on the score of low wages. In this respect, however, it differs but slightly from the other agricultural counties. The general rate of wages is 7s. a week for strong active men. In some cases a further reduction has been attempted to 6s. Carters and others in somewhat confidential employments are paid 8s. and 9s. At Ben, a village visited, the customary sum was 7s.; those who were not exactly able-bodied men were getting 5s. and 6s. They had to pay house-rent and fuel out of this, whether they earned 7s., 6s., or 5s. There were no perquisites or privileges of any character to eke out the wages.

In stating, however, the wages of the agricultural labourer to be so much—6s. or 7s. a week—we may be misunderstood. The fact is, he is not paid by the week at all, but by the day, and only for the days upon which he actually has employment. During some seasons of the year he cannot get this, during certain states of the weather he cannot get it, and at such times his wages are reduced to 4s., to 3s., or to nothing. One man getting 1s. a day said: "The farmers have nearly got in all their seed, and then we may go about our business." That a vast amount of physical suffering, and of moody dissatisfaction exist, is a consequence that can surprise no one.

The habitations which the people are obliged to make use of are miserable in the extreme, seldom possessing more than two rooms, destitute of the arrangements necessary for cleanliness and decency, and, in a very large proportion of cases, damp, unwholesome, and dilapidated. Yet, for the miserable accommodation afforded by these hovels, an enormously high rent has to be paid, thus materially reducing the scanty pittance which, as we have seen, is all the agricultural labourer is able to earn.

The *Miners* engaged in the mineral districts, and the various classes of workmen who find employment in the ironworks and in the potteries, are, generally speaking, in the receipt of nominal wages of sufficient amount; but these are greatly reduced by the prevalence of the truck system, and the operation of other causes, which will be found referred to under other heads.

Amongst *Labourers*, as distinguished both from skilled artisans and small venders, an infinite diversity of circumstances is found. Those enjoyed in the agricultural districts have been specifically noticed. The average wages in this branch of occupation is somewhat above theirs. But in many cases where a fair amount of money is nominally paid, the existence of systems, similar to those exposed in the section "*Habits of Drunkenness*," &c., materially reduce the sums really received by the workmen. In all cases it must be remembered that the "*labourer*" is paid not by the week, but by the day or the job, and that there are few weeks in which blank days do not occur.

CONSEQUENCES OF INSUFFICIENT REMUNERATION.

If wages in any branch of labour sink beneath the amount necessary to provide the humble comforts of life; yet more, if they fall below the sum required to command the necessities of life, frightful evils of a physical, moral, and social kind, must be the inevitable result. In tracing some of the unhappy consequences of existing rates of wages amongst us, we shall not dwell upon the *material* discomforts which must be an obvious result to every one. We confine ourselves to the mention of three evils, the first of which is

THE DESECRATION OF THE SABBATH.

The uniform testimony of the operative tailors we have seen to be—"Sunday labour is necessary, if we would avoid starvation." Indeed, the truth of this observation, with reference both to tailors and needle-women, needs no confirmation in face of the facts we have recorded with reference to wages. It is not to be expected that men and women, under the influence of hunger and want, and destitute of the decencies requisite for an attendance upon public worship, or even for out-door exercise, should resist the temptation of adding a few pence to their scanty earnings by working on the Sabbath.

"If you were to come round here of a Sunday," said a weaver in Spitalfields, "you would see the looms going all about. They are obligated to do it or starve. *There is no rest for us now.*"

"It is very seldom we have a Sunday's walking out," said another; "we are obliged to work on Sunday, all the same."

And so is it in all other trades where the same causes are in operation.

DISCONTENT AND DESPAIR

We name as a second consequence of insufficient wages. It must be so, when a bare existence, without comfort or decency, is prolonged only by the excessive toil of a whole family, old and young. The poor have not only to endure this, but they know that wages have been falling for years—falling every successive year—and *are falling still*. It follows naturally, that the poor man toils without heart and without hope; that, sunk in despondency, he makes but little effort at self-improvement, and learns the dangerous lesson of discontent with the institutions of society. That such must be the case is manifest without argument; that it is so, a few significant facts will be sufficient to show.

A Spitalfields weaver says: "Every year is getting worse in our trade. *What's life to me?* Labour, labour, labour, and for what? why for less and less food every month." Says another: "If we could depend upon a constancy of trade, and get a good price, we should be happy men; but I'm sure I don't know whether I shall obtain any more work when my 'cane's' out. My children I'm quite disheartened about. They must turn out in the world somewhere, but where, Heaven only knows. I often bother myself over that, more than ever my father bothered himself over me. What's to become of us all? Nine thousand of us here, besides wives and children!"

"We consider," said a kind of political operative, "that labour is unrepresented in the House of Commons, and that the landlords and capitalists have it all their own way. It is impossible for us to compete with the foreign workman at the present rate of English taxation. It is our firm opinion, that if things continue as at present the fate of the working man must be pauperism, crime, or death."

A poor needle-woman, detailing the particulars of her employment, added, "The workpeople are very dissatisfied, and very poor—yes, *very* poor. There's a great deal of want, and a great deal of suffering amongst them. I hear it at the shop when I go in with my work."

It is known that a similar state of feeling exists amongst the agricultural labourers of the rural districts—that they brood in dissatisfaction over their sufferings and privations, and regard the classes above them with sullen dislike and jealousy. They consider that they are ill used and under-paid, and in proportion as wages are low, is this ill-feeling found to prevail.

The frequent occurrence of incendiarism in the rural, and of "strikes" in the manufacturing districts, is a proof of the extensive dissatisfaction existing among the labouring classes.

THEFT AND IMMORALITY

May be mentioned as a third consequence of insufficient remuneration for labour—practices first resorted to under the strong temptations of want. The tendency of extremely low wages to lead to want must be evident. On the latter point, its connection with prostitution, Dr. Watts, of Nottingham, says: "It is impossible for young women to procure the necessaries of life, exclusive of dress, by the present wages, as lace-runners. The consequence is, that almost all become prostitutes, though not common street-walkers." So it is with the young women of all large towns. Toiling for long weary hours, at wages scarcely above starvation point, oppressed by fatigue, and sick at heart, they see walking the streets in apparent light-hearted gaiety, and well dressed, young women of their own age, who thus prosper without labour. We cannot wonder that the course to which they are thus tempted is often preferred to the drudgery of the workshop—"Stich, stich, stich!"—and the remuneration that is scarcely sufficient after all to keep life in the body and rags about it.

An operative tailor, referring to his low wages, said: "It's causing half the people to be thieves and robbers, that's true. Wages were higher in 1847. They are coming down every year." His companion added: "We are the prey of the masters. Whatever he asks, we must accept his offer, or else go and starve. The workhouse won't have us; we must either go thief, or take the price in the long run."

A Suffolk farm-labourer said, with reference to the deductions made from his weekly 8s., for days and parts of days upon which he was unable to work: "There's some weeks that we only gets 4s.; sometimes less than that, and in very wet weather we gets nothing at all." "Then how," he was asked, "do you manage to subsist and pay 1s. 6d. a week for that cottage of yours?" "We can't do it on our wages, you may be sure," he replied; "the truth is, master, that we are often driven to do a many things those times that we wouldn't do if we could help it. Its very hard for us to starve, and we sometimes pulls some turnips, or p'raps potatoes, out of some of the fields unbeknown to the farmers."

The influence of low wages upon the moral habits of young workwomen is deeply affecting:—The painful statements which follow are from the lips of the poor creatures themselves, whose cases they describe. They are not those who, dazzled by the attraction of pleasurable sin, have forsaken industry for dissipation, but who still struggle hard to live by virtuous toil, and only resort to prostitution as a means of eking out the

miserable subsistence which labour will not procure them. It is necessary to say, so almost incredible are the revelations they make, that the gentleman whose perseverance elicited the particulars took every necessary trouble to satisfy himself of the credibility of the parties.

One, described as a good-looking girl, said she made mole-skin trowsers. Her earnings throughout the year averaged 3s. a week, taking one week with another. Her mother, 66 years of age, sometimes gets 1s. 6d. a week for cleaning publicans' pots, but for the rest is dependent upon the girl, who adds: "It is of course impossible for us to live upon it, and the consequence is, I am obligated to go a bad way. I have been three years working at slop-work. I was virtuous when I first went to work, and I remained so till this last twelve-month. I struggled very hard to keep myself chaste, but I found that I couldn't get food and clothing for myself and mother. . . . There is not one girl as can get her living by slop-work. The masters all know this, but they wouldn't own to it of course. . . . I have heard of numbers who have gone from slop-work to the streets altogether; and I shall be obligated to do the same thing myself unless something better turns up for me. If I was never to speak no more, it was the little money I got by my labour that led me to go wrong. . . . I fought against it as long as I could—that I did—to the last. . . . No one knows the temptations of us poor girls in want."

Another, described by her piece mistress as hard-working and sober, had been a widow seven years. She made, taking one week with another, 3s. 4d. a week now. Her two sons had both died. Telling a harrowing tale, she added: "At times I was so badly off, me and my boy, that I was forced to resort to prostitution to keep us from starving. Had the price I was paid for my labour been such that I could get a living by it, I would never have resorted to the streets for money. I am sorry to say there are too many persons like me in the trade—hundreds of married and single doing the same as I do for the same reason. It's the ruin of us, body and soul,—all owing to the low prices. Almost all that works for the sweaters do the same thing. I know several that's very young living in that manner. It most drives me mad. They're hard-working, industrious people, but they don't get sufficient price to have enough, no, not even of the coarsest victuals. . . . They do their work in the day and go out in the night."

Similar testimony was given by many others, and an intelligent needle-woman, of much experience and knowledge of her

class, expressed her belief thus:—"In great measure I think the slop trade is the ruin of the young girls that take to it. The prices are not sufficient to keep them, and the consequence is, they fly to the streets to make out their living. Most of the workers are young girls who have nothing else to depend upon, and there is scarcely one of them virtuous. When they come on first they are very meek and modest in their deportment, but after a little while they get connected with the others and are led away."

There is another way in which low wages promote immorality, and in which they are seen to operate especially in the rural districts. Insufficiency of household accommodation leads to the use by a whole family of a single bedchamber; and there may very frequently be seen—in many counties it is the prevailing custom—father and mother, sons and daughters, young men, young women, and cousins of both sexes, sleeping in the same room, the beds often so close together that one must be crawled over to reach the other. To say nothing of the actual scenes of criminality which pass in these chambers, it is too evident that the mind must be divested of every feeling of delicacy and shame, and thus the great barriers of chastity removed.

IRREGULARITY IN THE SUPPLY OF LABOUR.

The most unfavourable feature in the labour market, both in the metropolis and throughout the kingdom (especially in the former)—unfavourable in its influence not only upon the comforts, but upon the industrial habits of the operative classes,—is the irregularity with which employment is obtained. This disadvantage is felt to a considerable extent by those engaged in several of the pursuits classified as skilled artizanship, and which are marked by alternations of busy and slack seasons, such as tailoring—by many of the trades which are pursued out of doors, such as bricklaying and painting—by the small dealers who have their several wares—by the factory hands, whose mills are subject to stoppages, &c.; but by no class is it experienced so much as by the men whose occupations are connected with the immense shipping trade of the port of London, such as the coal and ballast-heavers, the lumpers, and others engaged in various capacities at the docks. These men are paid by the day, according to the amount of work done, and of course when there is no necessity for their services, their wages cease. No position can possibly be more precarious. Circumstances, the foresight of

which is impossible, and the control of which is equally so, often throw them in thousands out of employ, and keep them so for weeks together. The prevalence of an easterly wind for any length of time, has the effect of depriving 20,000 of the industrial population of London, of their legitimate means of living, and abstracting as many pounds weekly from the ordinary earnings of this class of people. And this state of things is succeeded for a season by a glut of employment, during the continuance of which, money flows in in abundance. We advert to this branch of labour as one of the most glaring instances of the evil complained of; but, as has already been stated, there are few occupations in which it is not felt to a greater or less extent. It consists not so much in the insufficiency of the average earnings, as in the uncertain nature of the employment, and the consequent irregularity with which the wages are received.

1. It is destructive to habits of economy and providence. When, after a season of inactivity and consequent privation, work again becomes plenty, the temptations to extravagant indulgence, for which the present supply of money affords the means, are too great to be resisted except by a power of self-restraint, to the existence of which the entire system is most injurious. Hence it is found that the callings in which labour and income are *most* irregular, are precisely those which are marked by the greatest improvidence, and by the largest amount of the vices that spring out of alternate privation and excess. To secure regularity in the supply of labour, which would undoubtedly be the most efficient reform, is, it must be feared, impossible—at all events in cases where influences so uncontrollable as the winds are in operation. It is, however, a matter for consideration whether some provision might not be made to afford occupation of a different kind from the customary one, to fill up the present weeks of idleness.

2. It leads to the dissipation of the public-house, and is the prolific source of *intemperate* habits. The cessation of employment causes a vacancy and *ennui* of feeling, to get rid of which the drinking room is commonly resorted to.

3. Another evil resulting from this uncertainty of labour, and seen to operate chiefly, perhaps, amongst the artizan class of operatives, is its tendency to convert the honest and industrious workman into a vagrant, and ultimately a criminal. When deprived of his usual occupation by any one of the numerous causes which affect the labour-market, the idleness which ensues too frequently saps the foundation of industrious habits, and in a large proportion of cases is found gradually to engender

an indisposition to continuous labour, and to develop a restless wandering tendency which quickly leads to vagrancy. In many cases, too, the individual, being thrown out of employment in one town, travels the country in search of work elsewhere; and living the while upon charity, until tramping and begging become habitual, the sober, hard-working artizan becomes a confirmed mendicant. Frequently he lodges in the casual wards of the unions, and breakfasts and sups on their bounty until he learns the lesson of living on the labour of others. At first his sense of manly independence may be shocked, but the frequent repetition of the thing at last deadens his feelings of shame. Nor does the progress of this social and moral degradation, originating in the want of constant and regular employ, stop here. Industry degenerates into vagrancy; it remains for vagrancy to degenerate into crime; and the transition is too easy. All testimonies concur to prove, that the burglar and transport classes of England consist mainly of those who began their career by becoming tramps, and then mendicants.

The extent to which vagrancy exists is fearful. The average number accommodated during the last fourteen years, in the Asylum for the houseless poor, in the metropolis, has been considerably more than 100,000 annually, almost entirely consisting of persons belonging to the class above referred to. According to the returns of the Poor-law Commissioners, there were relieved throughout England and Wales, in one day in 1848, 13,547 vagrants. In addition to these there were ascertained to be, on a particular night, 20,000 individuals living in booths and tents; and to these must be added further, the inmates of the numerous trampers' lodging-houses throughout the kingdom, yielding a total, according to careful estimates, and making allowances for such a proportion as may be supposed to be respectable and deserving persons in distress, of upwards of 50,000 habitual vagrants in England and Wales, living at the expense of the industrious classes, and costing the country no less a sum than £144,990 annually. The direct pecuniary loss occasioned by this social vice is, however, its least evil. The tendency of vagrancy to degenerate into dishonesty has already been insisted on. The demoralizing effects produced upon large masses of society, by this stream of vice flowing from town to town, is an aspect of the case that suggests most painful reflections; whilst the filthy habits usually indulged in generate the seeds of a dangerous typhoid, which, to adopt the language of the Poor-law Report, has "universally marked the path of the mendicant."

When the want of work does not lead to tramping in search

of employment, the tendency of irregular occupation to induce habits of dishonesty may still be traced. The value of property stolen in the year 1848, in the vicinity of the docks—a district where the labour is peculiarly marked by this feature—amounted, according to police-returns, to £2,007, of which £365 only was recovered. The number of robberies was 521; the average amount of each was £3 17s. 1½d.

The Report of the Constabulary Commissioners presented to Government in 1839, lays great stress upon the “impatience of steady labour,” and the “desire of obtaining property by a less degree of labour than steady industry,” as the prevalent cause of vagrancy; and if we trace the anterior causes by which this “impatience of steady labour” has itself been induced, we shall unquestionably have to give a prominent place to that *irregularity* of employment which occasions frequent seasons of idleness, and gradually renders all work irksome.

NON-NECESSITY OF INTOXICATING DRINKS TO SUPPORT STRENGTH UNDER SEVERE TOIL.

Of all departments of labour that of the ballasters and coal-whippers, employed on the Thames, is, perhaps, the most trying and exhausting. “The perspiration,” said one of these men, “in the summer time, streams down our foreheads so rapidly that it will often get into our eyes before we have time to wipe it off. This makes the eyes very sore. At night, when we get home, we cannot bear to sit with a candle. The perspiration is of a very briny nature, for I often taste it as it runs down my lips. We are often so heated over our work, that the perspiration runs into the shoes; and often, from the dust and heat jumping up and down, and the feet being galled with small dust, I have had my shoes full of blood. The thirst produced by our work is very excessive. It is completely as if you had a fever upon you. The dust gets into the throat and very nearly suffocates you. You can scrape the coal-dust off the tongue with the teeth, and do what you will it is impossible to get the least spittle into the mouth. I have known the coal-dust to be that thick in a ship’s hold that I have been unable to see my mate, though he was only two feet from me. Your legs totter under you.”

To this statement another added: “Then there’s the coals on your back to be carried up a nasty ladder, or some such contrivance, perhaps twenty feet; and a sack full of coals weighs two cwt. and a stone at least. Is it not a strain on a man?

No horse could stand it long. Then when you get fairly out of the ship, you go along planks to the wagon; and must look sharp, 'specially in slippery or wet weather, or you'll topple over, and there's the hospital or the workhouse for you. Last week we carried along planks sixty feet at least. There's nothing extra allowed for distance, but there ought to be. I've sweat to that degree in summer, that I've been tempted to jump into the Thames to cool myself. The sweat's run into my boots, and I've felt it running down me for hours as I had to trudge along. It makes men bleed at the nose and mouth, this work does. Sometimes we put a bit of coal in our mouths to prevent us biting our tongues."

The temptation to the use of strong stimulants in the pursuit of labour under such circumstances, is great, and the consumption of alcoholic drinks is consequently very large. But that these can be done without, that the men engaged in this severe toil, may relinquish their use without impairing their powers of labour, is sufficiently attested by the experience of many of them who have for years followed the principles of temperance. Their statements (and happily this class has become a numerous one) prove the following particulars:—That more work can be done on the abstinence than on the drinking system; that it can be performed with more ease and comfort to the labourer; and that being done, it leaves him less exhausted.

We select the following from the statements made to the Commissioners of the *Morning Chronicle*:—It is food only that can give real strength to the frame. I have done more work since I have been a teetotaler, in my eight years, than I did in ten or twelve years before. I have felt stronger. I don't say I do my work better; but this I will say, without fear of successful contradiction, that I do my work with more ease to myself, and with more satisfaction to my employer. Since I have given over intoxicating drinks, I scarcely know what thirst is. Before I took the pledge I was always dry, and the mere shadow of the pot-boy was quite sufficient to convince me that I wanted something. I certainly have not felt weaker since I left off malt liquor. I have eaten more and drunk less. I live as well now as any of the publicans do; and who has a better right to do so than the man who works? I have backed as many as sixty tons in a day since I took the pledge, and have done it, without any intoxicating drink, with perfect ease to myself, and walked five miles to a temperance meeting afterwards. But before I became a teetotaler, after the same amount of work, I should scarcely have been able to crawl home; I should have been certain to have lost the next day's

work at least, but now I can back that quantity of coals, week after week, without losing a day. I've got a family of six children under twelve years of age. My wife's a teetotaler, and has suckled four children upon the principle of total abstinence. Teetotalism has made my home quite happy, and what I get goes twice as far. Where I work now, four of us, out of five, are teetotalers. I am quite satisfied that the heaviest work that a man can possibly do may be done without a drop of fermented liquor. I say so from my own experience. All kinds of intoxicating drinks is quite a delusion. We teetotalers can do the work better—that is, with more ease to ourselves than the drinkers can. Many teetotalers have backed coals out of the hold, and I have heard them say, over and over again, that they did their work with more comfort and ease than they did when they drank intoxicating drink. Coal-backing from the ship's hold is the hardest work it is possible for a man to do. Going up a ladder sixteen feet high with 238 lbs. weight upon a man's back, is sufficient to kill any one; indeed, it does kill the men in a few years—they're soon old men at that work."

HABITS OF DRUNKENNESS ENFORCED BY TRADE REGULATIONS.

We have already adduced the testimony of men engaged in the most laborious and exhausting species of toil, as to the non-necessity of intoxicating stimulants to enable them to pursue their calling. We are now about to advert to the astounding fact, that there are branches of industry in which the workmen are compelled, by the fear of losing their future chance of employment, or induced by the hope of obtaining the preference, to spend a large proportion of their earnings in drink. They are entirely in the hands of the publican. This is the case to a deplorable extent with the ballast-heavers of London. They must drink, or they cannot get work, according to the operations of the present system of employment and payment, which makes publicans the contractors for the labour to be performed, and of course the paymasters when it is done. The universal testimony of the men is, that if they refuse to drink, and that to the extent of half their wages, or more, they will get no work. A gang of ballast-heavers was questioned, and they stated that their average earnings amounted to 10s. a week, of which some took home 5s., whilst many never carried to their family more than 2s. 6d. Being asked specifically, "Are you all compelled to spend a great part of what you earn in drink with the publican?" The simultaneous answer was, "All of

us—all." Asked if this system did not compel them to become drunkards, they replied, "Yes, and blackguards too."

The wife of a ballast-heaver said she and her family were very badly off. When she first knew her husband in Ireland, he was a steady, sober man, and for two years after their marriage he continued so, but then they came to try and better their condition. The first work the man obtained was ballast-heaving. To obtain employment at this, he was obliged to drink, and gradually became fond of it. During last winter he often brought home 1s. 6d. or 2s. after a job. The consequence was, that his family were starving, whilst the woman said, "What's gone into the publican's till would get the children bread and bedding and bits of clothes." Such is an illustration of the results of this iniquitous system upon the homes of this class of labourers. Its operation will be fairly seen from the following tabular statement of particulars received (without selection), from a party of men of whom inquiries were made. The first column represents the wages each had been entitled to receive the preceding week; the second the actual amount each had carried home:—

£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
0	7	0	.....	0	7	0
0	12	0	.....	0	3	6
0	15	0	.....	0	9	0
0	12	0	.....	0	6	0
0	13	0	.....	0	4	0
0	11	0	.....	0	5	0
0	16	0	.....	0	6	0
0	15	0	.....	0	5	0
0	5	0	.....	0	2	6
0	8	0	.....	0	5	0
0	9	6	.....	0	5	0
1	0	0	.....	0	10	0
0	12	6	.....	0	3	6
1	0	0	.....	0	9	0
0	12	0	.....	0	4	0
0	15	0	.....	0	9	0
0	15	0	.....	0	8	6
0	12	0	.....	0	3	6
0	9	0	.....	0	5	0
1	0	0	.....	0	4	6
1	0	0	.....	0	10	0
0	10	0	.....	0	3	0
0	10	0	.....	0	5	0
0	12	0	.....	0	2	6
0	8	0	.....	0	3	6
0	14	0	.....	0	9	0
£16	13	0		£7	8	0

the average earnings being 11s. 1½d.; the average receipts less than 5s. a week. According to returns from Trinity House, the total earnings of the ballast-heavers, in 1848, must have been £15,390 9s. 6d. Calculating two thirds of that sum to have been spent in drink, which is below the general statement of what is customary, it follows that as much as £10,260 6s. 4d. went into the pockets of the publicans ; only £5,130 3s. 2d. to the men who did the work.

Let us take another illustration of the workings of this system, from the case of the journeymen lumpers, who are men engaged in discharging the cargoes of timber and deal ships. In 1849, 389 of these ships were unloaded in the London docks. The dock companies pay for this work 9d. per ton to the contractors, by whom the labourers are directly engaged. The sum thus paid, in 1849, must, at the above rate, have amounted to £5,155 1s. 9d. Nearly the whole of the money received by the contractors and in some cases even more, is paid over by them to the workmen.

Thus, in discharging a ship of 600 tons burden, the contractor would receive £22 10s.; but in a case referred to, actual wages had been paid to the amount of £24 10s., viz:—30s. 6d. each to 20 men for seven days. These facts will at once suggest the question—How, then, does the contractor live, if he thus gain no share in the profit of the transaction?

The answer is to be found in the fact, that he is a *publican*, as well as a *contractor*; or, if not himself keeping a public-house, is in immediate connection with one. The journeymen in his employ are forced customers to the public-house. It is there they are engaged; it is there their wages are paid. They know that if they do not drink largely, for the profit of their employer, they have no chance whatever of work. They must buy the favour of the publican, or they are passed over, and the labour given to others. The consequence is, according to the statement of the wives, that five-sixths of the men's earnings are spent in drink, *i. e.*—twenty shillings out of every twenty-four they receive.

Evils of a similar kind formerly existed amongst the coal-whippers, who were employed and paid by the publicans, in the manner we have now described. The consequence was, that none but the most dissolute and intemperate could obtain work. There were at that time seventy taverns on the north-side of the Thames, kept by publicans employing coal-whippers, and all of them making fortunes out of the earnings of the people. When a ship came to be unloaded, the men assembled round the bar in crowds, and began calling for drink, and out-bidding each other in the extent of their orders, so as to induce the

landlord to give them employment. This state of things continued till 1843, when, by the efforts of three of the men, an Act of Parliament was obtained forbidding the system, and establishing an office for the registration and employment of the coal-whippers in the port of London. Since the pay of these men was thus taken out of the hands of the publicans, so visible has been the improvement in their condition and habits, that they have raised themselves in the respect of all who know them. A proof of this is seen in the fact, that within the last few years they have established a benefit society, and, in 1847, expended £646 in the relief of the sick and the burial of the dead; and that they have also established a superannuation fund, out of which they allow 5s. per week to each person incapacitated by age or accident. They have, in addition, founded a school, with accommodation for 600 scholars, out of their small earnings. On one occasion, as much as £80 had been collected from them for this object.

Why could not a similar legislative interposition rescue the ballast-heavers, and other labourers, who still suffer under the evils of the system we have described? We are glad to know that Sir James Duke, M.P., has lately presented a petition on the subject to the House of Commons, but it has not yet led to any measure of relief.

INTEMPERANCE, POVERTY, AND CRIME.

It has been shown that the actual amount of remuneration received in many branches of industry, is insufficient to provide the comforts and decencies of life. It is a lamentable fact, that in several departments of labour, where wages are comparatively high, a corresponding condition of practical poverty and destitution is induced by the voluntary drinking usages that prevail amongst the operatives. The general connection of poverty with intemperance is proved in the experience of every nation in which drunkenness is a prominent crime. A few facts, drawn from society amongst ourselves, will, however, be the most appropriate illustrations here.

Many experienced workmen, contending for a living in old age, and in circumstances rendered most unfavourable by the competition of younger hands, have lamented that, through drink, they had neglected the opportunity of raising themselves to independence, which had been afforded them at an earlier period.

The proprietors of a large Staffordshire pottery stated, in evidence, to a Committee of the House of Commons, that they

employed several hundred men whose wages were uncommonly great, but whose condition was no better than that of men whose earnings were one-third less than theirs.

A master tailor of Dublin stated, at a meeting there, that he employed many tailors, some earning thirty shillings, and some scarcely eighteen shillings. The families of those who earned the highest wages were almost invariably in the most wretched state of poverty and destitution, from their excessive drunkenness.

It is a notorious fact, that amongst the classes of mechanics who are in the receipt of high wages in London, as much misery often prevails as amongst those who live on bare subsistence prices. In the receipt, perhaps, of 30s. a week, in some cases as high as 50s., the man's home is wretched and his children ragged; and if loss of employment is caused by illness or other circumstances, not a shilling is found to have been laid by, to fall back upon in such an emergency. In one case, of a man earning 50s., two-pence was the amount brought home of the week's wages.

Such, indeed, may be considered to be extreme cases; but those in which an average of one-half or a somewhat larger proportion of wages is weekly abstracted from family use, and spent in the beer-house or gin-palace, are common.

The tendency of the existing drinking usages is clearly seen in the ascertained fact, that a very large proportion of the paupers in our workhouses have been brought there by intemperance. Mr. Burne, in his "Plea for Temperance," contends that at least three-fourths, or 75 out of every 100 paupers, are the victims of strong drink; and, in support of his opinion, quotes the following, amongst other testimony.

Dr. Chalmers pronounces the public-house "the most abundant source of pauperism."

The Rev. George Holt, chaplain to the Birmingham Workhouse, expresses his conviction, from actual experience, that "of every hundred persons admitted into the Birmingham workhouse, ninety-nine were reduced to this state of humiliation and dependence, either directly or indirectly, through the prevalent and ruinous drinking usages of our country." A witness before the Parliamentary Committee on Drunkenness said: "From inquiries I have made, I should say that nineteen out of twenty of the inmates of workhouses get there either from habits of drunkenness of their own, or of their connexions."

Another witness, an officer of the Houseless Poor Society, whose position gave him peculiar facilities of ascertaining this class of facts, stated: "As to pauperism in the workhouse, the master of one in the east of London wrote to me about three

years since, stating that there were 145 cases in the house at that time, 111 of which he could clearly trace had been brought there from habits of intemperance." Mr. Chadwick, the Poor-Law Commissioner, said: "I believe that all the witnesses of considerable practical experience, when questioned as to the causes of pauperism, stated to me, that the ungovernable inclination for fermented liquors was one very considerable contributory cause." Mr. Burne adds: "Very recently it was announced in a weekly paper, that 105 out of 143, or three out of four, of the inmates of one of the London work-houses, had been brought there through drunkenness." Dr. Edgar gave it in evidence, that the 257 inmates of the Belfast poor-house, were, while fit for labour, in the receipt of £144 weekly from wages. Fifty-eight of them received 15s. 5½d. per week. "The spirit-shop," he says, "swallowed up no small proportion of their earnings, and prevented prudent savings." Further he states: "Of twenty-eight applicants for admission to the asylum for decayed old men, twenty acknowledged themselves to have been intemperate; seven only, by their own account, had been moderate drinkers!" Again, he observes: "Of 27,347 objects received in one year, by the Sick and Destitute Roomkeepers Society, it is believed by the managers, that one-half had been reduced from comfortable circumstances to extreme want by distilled spirits." A miserable-looking man, nearly blind, stated once to a temperance missionary, that drink had not only ruined his circumstances and deprived him of friends, but it had so injured his sight, that he was now living on charity.

Oliver Goldsmith thus states the result of an extensive experience on this subject:—"In all the towns and countries I have seen, I never saw a city or village yet, whose miseries were not in proportion to the number of its public-houses. In Rotterdam you may go through eight or ten streets without finding a public-house; in Antwerp almost every second house seems an ale-house. In the one city all wears the appearance of happiness and warm affluence; in the other, the young fellows walk about the streets in shabby finery; their fathers sit at the door, darning and knitting stockings, while their ports are filled with dunghills."

Testimonials from competent authorities might be multiplied to any extent to show that a very large proportion of the crime committed in this country is the direct result of drunkenness. To the proofs already given, we add the following:—

Mr. Bagshaw, chaplain to the Salford goal, says: "The increase of crime in Manchester, I attribute to the increase of intemperance; and I should say, as to the cause of crime, per-

haps four-fifths of those brought into the goal are brought in by intemperance."

The chaplain of the Worcester city gaol declared, in a recent report: "Very few cases have occurred within the past year, of which drunkenness, or an excessive fondness for intoxicating liquor, has not been the direct or the approximating cause." The chaplain of the Lancaster county goal, in a report to the magistrates, expressed his opinion that—"Of one hundred and eighty-nine offenders of all descriptions, there were one hundred and sixteen who imputed their misfortunes, or their crimes, to the temptations held out to them by the ale-house and the beer-shop."

Mr. Hill's "Report on Prison Discipline in Scotland" contains the following passage:—"Of all the immediate causes of crime and offences in Scotland, drunkenness is by far the most potent. A considerable portion even of the thefts are committed under the influence of whisky, and the desire of obtaining this liquor is the cause of many others."

Captain Wilson, superintendent of the Glasgow police-court, states that two-thirds at least of the cases brought into that court arose from intemperance.

THE TRUCK SYSTEM

Prevails to the greatest extent in the iron and coal districts. It is in full and active operation in Staffordshire and the mineral counties of South Wales. Every attempt of the legislature to put an end to the system has hitherto failed. The law is habitually and grossly violated, and even magistrates are amongst those who systematically evade its provisions for the protection of the workman. Under the oppression of the Tommy-masters, the people are said to be utterly helpless.

The master is compelled by law to pay his workpeople in *money*. There is no provision, however, requiring him to pay wages *weekly*. He, therefore, adopts the system of long reckoning, of which "Truck" is part and parcel. During the long intervals between the pay-days, the men, without money, and in want of goods, are obliged to avail themselves of the arrangements made by the employers, and obtain articles of consumption, upon the credit of tickets or orders upon the Tommy-shops. The system is carried out in various ways, but this is its essential feature. The "Report of the Commission on Mines" says: "A shop in the neighbourhood, not professedly in the hands of the proprietors of the works, advances goods to the workmen employed in the mines, on account of the pro-

prietors ; the books of the shop and the books of the colliery are checked on the pay-day at the same office, and the balance, if any, is handed over to the men. It is said by many that the necessaries of life are dearer in these shops by 25 per cent. than in others." The general assurance given by the operatives is, that the truck-masters charge from twopence to threepence out of every shilling higher than the fair traders. The wife of a coal bandsman, in Staffordshire, said her husband was "Tommyed," as nearly all were thereabouts. She received half her husband's wages in money, and the other half in goods ; but in many establishments the poor people never got one shilling in money. She paid 11d. a pound for butter, such as she could get in Wolverhampton for 8d., and 1s. 9d. a peck for flour, such as she could buy elsewhere for 1s. 7d. The reckoning came once a month. Her husband's wages were paid in a beer-shop, and he must spend at least sixpence in ale.

Another woman said she paid at the Tommy-shop 6d. for sugar she could procure for 4½d. in Wolverhampton.

An engineman said that at his Tommy-shop flour was 4d. a peck, and butter 2d. a lb. dearer than in Bilston.

A butcher at West Bromwich, complaining of the injury done by the Truck system to the fair trader, said, whatever price the Truckmen asked, the people must pay. He was then selling ribs of beef at 4½d., and roasting pieces at 3d. The Tommy-shop were charging 6½d. and 7d. for the same meat. He sold mutton at 5d. to 5½d. The Tommy-shops got 6½d. The reckonings in that neighbourhood came nominally once a fortnight, but, from one reason or another, were being continually put off.

These statements will be sufficient to show the direct influence of this practice upon the physical comforts of the work-people. The effects produced by it upon the feelings of the operatives, in alienating their affection and respect from their employers, is testified to by the clergy and other respectable and intelligent inhabitants of the district, who are of opinion that it will never be put down by any legislative enactments, until the *long reckonings* be abridged by Act of Parliament.

THE LOW LONDON LODGING-HOUSES.

Foremost amongst the receptacles of misery, vice, and poverty found in the metropolis, are the cheap lodging-houses, frequented by thousands who are first driven to them by necessity, and soon become fearfully and fatally corrupted by the associations they are led to form there.

It appears from the Reports of the Police Commissioners, that in 1830 there were open in London as many as 221 of such houses; each harbouring, on an average, nightly, as many as eleven such characters, as we shall proceed to describe; thus showing a total of 2,431 pickpockets and vagrants, sheltered by the proprietors of these domiciles.

With some distinctive features, they are all marked by the same great essential characteristics, and a description of the accommodation and inmates of one will serve as an indication of the character of the whole.

In one described by the Commissioners of the *Chronicle*, the charge for a bed was 2d., for which sum the lodger was entitled to the use of the kitchen the whole of the following day. The sleeping apartment was about forty feet long, and the same width, and contained five rows of "bunks" (so the beds are called), each row twenty-four deep, and divided from each other by wooden partitions four feet high. The bunk consisted of a grating seven feet long, by one foot ten inches in width, about twelve inches from the ground, and covered with leather or a rug. The average number of persons sleeping in this house was 60; and of these about 30 were ascertained, generally, to be pickpockets; 10 street-beggars; a few old persons receiving parish relief; 10 or 15 dock-labourers; about the same number following other precarious callings; and a few who had once been in favourable circumstances, but became reduced through a variety of causes.

The pickpockets living in the house consisted chiefly of handkerchief-stealers and shop-lifters, pursuing their calling professionally, and openly exhibiting its proceeds. Amongst these, legs and breasts of mutton were frequently brought in. The thieves are met by receivers of stolen goods, sometimes labourers from the docks, or porters from Billingsgate, who purchase their booty. The general feeling of the lodging-house is to encourage theft, by laughing at and applauding the dexterity of the thief, and greeting him when he has met with good luck. The effect of such a state of society upon the innocent and industrious, whom poverty or chance may bring into these dens, must be obvious to every one. An instance is related of "a lad who seemed to be a very fine little fellow, and promised to have been possessed of very excellent mental capabilities, if properly directed, who came to the lodging-house, when out of a situation as an errand-boy. He stayed there a month or six weeks, during which he was tampered with by the others, and ultimately became a confirmed 'gonoff'" —a Hebrew word, meaning a young thief.

The common conversation was a discussion of the most ex-

pert modes of stealing; and habits of dexterity were cultivated by practising upon the pockets of the other lodgers.

The following facts were elicited by personal inquiries. Of 55 lodgers assembled, the ages were as under:— One between 60 and 70; four between 50 and 60; one between 40 and 50; fifteen between 30 and 40; sixteen between 20 and 30; eighteen between 10 and 20. With reference to their parentage, the fathers of thirteen had been labouring men; and of the remainder, the great majority, artizans of various grades. The father of one, however, had been a schoolmaster; of another a captain in the army; and of a third a physician.

Seventeen had been brought up as labourers, seven as mariners, and most of the others as operatives. One called himself a “prig.”

Their educational statistics showed that of the 55, 40 *could read and write*, and four more could read.

The majority had been *deprived, by various circumstances, of regular employment*, and obliged to “knock about.” A brick-layer said he had been eight summers in, and eight winters out of work; and a dock-labourer could obtain no employment for three-fourths of his time.

As many as 34 of the number had been imprisoned. One confessed to having been in gaol at least 20 times. The whole had together been in confinement 140 times, or an average of four imprisonments for each person. Of this number 63 had been for vagrancy, and 71 for theft. Thieving had been followed as a profession by 1 for 14 years; 2 for 12; 3 for 10; 1 for 9; 1 for 8; 2 for 7; 1 for 6; 2 for 5; 3 for 4; 1 for 3; and the remainder for shorter periods down to 2 months. The experienced and the novice were thus assembled together. The next facts ascertained had reference to their greatest gains by theft, which varied from £3 to £40 in one day, the average amounting to £2 15s.

Inquiries were made as to the motives and circumstances under which thieving had first been resorted to. 10 had begun to steal on running away from home; 5 from keeping “flash company,” and needing money to meet its expenses; 6 to go to the theatres; 9 from having been imprisoned as vagrants, and finding that thieves were better treated than they were; 3 from necessity; and one from having been imprisoned as a beggar.

It was ascertained that drunkenness is not a prevalent vice amongst pickpockets, though their habits are generally libidinous.

From the whole of the particulars now stated, two important facts are evident. The first is, that a considerable amount of

ordinary education is compatible with habits of criminality. The second is, that the cause of first departure from rectitude could not, in the cases now recorded, be found in the depravity of early training, the great majority of the parents having been men of comfortable and respectable station. Many of them attributed their fall to harsh treatment at home, inducing them to throw themselves upon the world.

JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

The various police returns throughout the country establish the fact, that a very large proportion of criminals have begun their career of vice at a tender age. The inquiries made into the previous lives of adult criminals prove this, and a confirmation is afforded by the number of juvenile offenders by whom the ranks of the lawless portion of society are annually recruited. The following are selected as illustrations :—

MIDDLESEX RETURN FOR 1846.

Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.
382	1,314	1,039	605	669	364	143	64
Total of offenders.....							4,641.

COUNTY OF LANCASTER.—COMMITTALS, 1846.

Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.
166	698	710	504	557	283	95	32
Total of offenders.....							3,072
Age not ascertained							32

THE THREE AGRICULTURAL COUNTIES OF LINCOLN, SOUTH HANTS, AND DEVON.

	Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.
Devon	37	133	143	127	127	71	45	27
S. Hants...	47	162	154	81	84	45	20	12
Lincoln....	16	85	122	60	70	39	65	5
Total for Devon, 721 ; South Hants, 608 ; Lincoln, 419.								
Age unknown.....Devon, 11 ; South Hants, 3 ; Lincoln, 5.								

THE TOTAL NUMBER OF COMMITTALS THROUGHOUT ENGLAND AND WALES, 1846.

Under 15.	Under 20.	Under 25.	Under 30.	Under 40.	Under 50.	Under 60.	Above 60.
1,640	6,236	5,856	3,655	3,972	2,120.	859	456
Total							25,107
Age unknown							413

From a careful examination of these and corresponding tables, it is ascertained that whilst “Juveniles,” that is, persons “aged 15 and under 20,” form not quite one-tenth of the

population, they are guilty of nearly one-fourth of the crime of this country.*

This fact in itself is sufficiently startling. It is, however, still more painful to know, that the number and proportion of juvenile offenders are annually increasing. The following table will show this :—

CENTESIMAL PROPORTION OF JUVENILE OFFENDERS.

	1842.	1843.	1844.	1845.	1846.
Aged under 15.....	5·3	5·7	6·0	6·4	6·5
15 and 20.....	22·0	22·7	23·3	24·1	24·5
20 .. 25.....	24·7	24·3	24·1	24·2	23·3
25 .. 30.....	15·3	14·9	14·9	14·3	14·6
30 .. 40.....	16·8	16·4	15·3	15·6	15·8
40 .. 50.....	8·3	8·1	8·3	8·2	8·4
50 .. 60.....	3·8	3·5	3·9	3·6	3·4
60 and above.....	1·8	1·9	2·0	1·7	1·8
Age not ascertained.....	2·0	2·5	2·2	1·9	1·7

CAUSES OF JUVENILE DEPRAVITY.

Some of these have already been specified under the heads *Consequences of Insufficient Wages, and Irregularity in the Supply of Labour*. Amongst other causes may be mentioned :—

1. The state of the dwelling-houses of the poor, engendering habits of filth always conducive to habits of immorality; destructive of domestic comfort, the best safeguard of virtue; and affording no provision for the becoming separation of the sexes, and other observances of decency.

2. The parental example of drunkenness and vice.

An illustration may be taken from the *Report of Prisons, Northern and Eastern District, 1841*. Of twenty-three cases of youthful criminals committed to Preston House of Correction—

E. W., 17.—Fourth commitment: parents separated, mother lived in adultery; father twice in prison.

J. F., 14.—Father dead; mother had three illegitimate children.

J. T., 16.—Was five years old when parents married. Father got drunk every Saturday night, and beat his mother and him.

R. N., 15.—Second offence: father often imprisoned for drunkenness and neglect of family.

W. B., 13.—Father died in Lancaster Castle, whilst undergoing a second imprisonment for uttering base coin; mother a profligate, and then in prison.

* See Juvenile Depravity. Prize Essay. By Rev. H. Worsley, B.A.

H. F., 16.—Sixth offence : illegitimate ; mother first enticed him to steal flour from a mill.

T. W., 17.—His father a drunkard, and then in prison for poaching.

J. C., 17.—Both parents drunkards.

T. R., 15.—Father a drunken profligate, and frequently imprisoned.

R. N., 17.—Parents addicted to drinking ; father drunk three weeks.

The other instances were all precisely similar.

An unfortunate girl, addressing a missionary in London, said : “ Young as I am, drink has ruined me. My father died a drunkard, and my mother is now on her death-bed through drink, and I am a lost character.”

Many instances are known in which the parents have added to their own examples of vice *instruction in stealing*. One case will suffice. Two girls, one eleven, the other nine years old, and sisters, were convicted of stealing a pair of new boots from a shop. The policeman who apprehended them ascertained that their mother was a woman of most abandoned habits, and that, according to the testimony of her neighbours, she “ regularly trained up her children to thieving, chiefly for the gratification of her own depraved and vicious propensity—drunkenness.”

3. Ill-usage and cruelty at home. Every batch of juvenile criminals examined, whether in London or the provinces, contained a large proportion who attributed their first resort to crime to their having absconded from home in consequence of ill-treatment. Poverty and intemperance brutalize the character, and stifle every tender domestic affection.

4. The demoralizing tendency of cheap popular amusements. The saloons and low theatres, and the cheap concert-rooms, constitute the better order of popular recreations. They are the favourite resort of the younger people. The numerous establishments of this kind in the suburbs of the metropolis, and in the larger provincial towns, are nightly crowded by boys and girls. The injurious influence of this class of amusements is twofold. In the first place, the attraction tempts many to steal, in order to obtain the pence necessary for admission. Many of the young thieves examined in the low London lodging-houses, referred to this as their first temptation, and the occasion of their fall. Sometimes the parents were robbed, sometimes the masters, sometimes shops or passengers in the street. In the second place, the character of the performances is such as to familiarize the mind with the ideas of vice, and to dignify crime with the appearance of heroism.

The Report of Prisons 1841, speaking of Liverpool, says: "The number of children frequenting the *Sanspareil*, the *Liver*, and other theatres of a still lower description, is almost incredible. The streets in front, and the avenues leading to them, may be seen, on the nights of performance, occupied by crowds of boys, who have not been able to possess themselves of the few pence required to obtain admission. I cannot forbear describing as a sample, one place of amusement, called the Penny-hop, in Hood-street, to which the admission is one penny, and where two or three series of performances take place in the same evening. "It consists of a spacious room, fitted up in the rudest manner, with a stage, and seats on an inclined plane; the access to it is through a dark passage, and up a ladder staircase. On one occasion I was present, and found the audience to consist almost exclusively of boys and girls of the very lowest description, many without shoes and stockings, and to the number of 150. I had some conversation with the persons in the interior who appeared to have the management, and they stated, in answer to my queries, that the theatre was almost always filled, and with boys; that they had attempted to play 'Jack Sheppard,' but in consequence of the frequent interruptions from the audience, who seemed all to wish to take a part in the performance, they were obliged to give it up."

THE RECLAMATION OF CRIMINALS.

The thieves and low prostitutes of the metropolis, who have been questioned in great numbers on the point, have all manifested the utmost eagerness to quit their present course of life; and bewailed the impossibility of doing so. Indeed, it is found that an early departure from rectitude and virtue, almost entails upon the offender the necessity of pursuing to its end the career of evil he has commenced. Meetings, composed of the most degraded characters the purlieus of crime could supply, have been held; and the question, "Are you not tired of the lives you lead, and would you not gladly abandon them?" has been answered by shouts of "Yes, yes!" from hundreds of voices. But a guilty act detected, the path of honest industry is generally closed against the criminal, and, unable to find employment because his character has been destroyed, he has, too often, no resource open to him but theft. Many affecting instances have come to light in which men of high respectability have yielded to temptation, and committed a criminal act, and, though struggling hard to regain the position

they have lost, have, in spite of every effort, and as by the working of a law of necessity, sunk lower and lower, until, at last, they have recruited the ranks of the most hardened criminals. This state of things is worthy the most anxious and painful consideration, for whilst, on the one hand, it appears highly desirable to render more possible the reclamation of those who have been tempted into one crime, before vice has become a habit and a destiny, it seems equally desirable, on the other, not to destroy or weaken the mighty barrier against crime, which the remembrance of its terrible consequences undoubtedly supplies. If a return to virtuous industry were possible, it seems certain that many whom inadvertence or some peculiar or sudden temptation, had carried over the boundaries of virtue, and who are now living in confirmed vice, might have retraced their early error, and again established their reputation. But it may be questioned whether more would not have fallen had the facilities of a return been greater.

THE END.

THE OPERATIVE CLASSES : THEIR TRIALS, SUFFERINGS, AND VIRTUES.

A new and highly-interesting feature will immediately be introduced into the
WORKING MAN'S FRIEND AND FAMILY INSTRUCTOR,
as will be seen by the following announcement :—

JOHN CASSELL offers ONE HUNDRED POUNDS, in Premiums of TEN POUNDS each, for TEN pithy SKETCHES, TALES, or NARRATIVES, illustrative of the Trials, Sufferings, and Patient Endurance of the Industrial Classes, in connexion with various systems.

In order that no delay may occur in the publication of this important and interesting series of Papers, the subject, "ON THE CONDITION OF THE OMNIBUS DRIVERS AND CONDUCTORS OF THE METROPOLIS," has been submitted to, and accepted by, Miss Meteyard (better known to the literary world as "SILVERPEN"), the first chapter of which will appear in the number of THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND to be issued August 3. The whole of the remaining subjects (TEN in number) will be open to the competition of all writers in the United Kingdom.

- I. THE SWEATING SYSTEM: in connexion with the Tailoring Trade.
 - II. THE FACTORY SYSTEM: as illustrated in the Life of a Child, a Wife, and a Mother; in connexion with long hours, absence from home, and bare subsistence.
 - III. JOURNEYMEN BAKERS: in connexion with long hours, night work, Sunday labour, and close and unhealthy atmospheres.
 - IV. COLLIERS AND MINERS: their unhealthy and hazardous employments; and the triumphs of virtue and religion under the most unfavourable circumstances.
 - V. THE STOCKINGERS OF LEICESTER AND NOTTS: illustrated in the history of their trade; their privations during a lengthened depression; their long hours of labour, and scanty wages.
 - VI. NEEDLE WOMEN: illustrative of the sufferings and miseries of Shirt-makers, and the makers of Slop goods, &c.
 - VII. SALE FURNITURE, AND CABINET MAKERS: with their drudgery, slavery, and very inadequate remuneration of the present system.
 - VIII. SPITALFIELDS WEAVERS: their history, privations, recreations, and present condition.
 - IX. AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS: their employments, condition as to education, domestic comforts, &c.
- And, in connexion with the above series, though not actually including the operative classes :—
- X. THE DRAPERS' ASSISTANTS: illustrative of life in large towns, long hours, unhealthy lodging, oppressive and degrading rules and maxims, and the demoralization usually attendant on the present system.

Each Sketch, or Tale, must not exceed in length twelve of the ordinary pages of THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND, and is to be divided into three chapters, or smaller sections, if necessary. Though written in the form of tale, or narrative, it must describe the peculiarities of the respective trade or occupation, and contain such statistics as may convey just ideas of its extent, importance, and present state.

The OBJECT of the Proprietor of THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND, in publishing these sketches, is to furnish a succession of vivid pictures, which may serve,—

First,—To exhibit the advantages resulting from Sobriety, Industry, Integrity, and Moral excellence, under the most trying circumstances, namely, of the hardest work and the worst pay.

Secondly,—To excite the sympathy of those who are in more favourable circumstances, by bringing more fully before their view the privations and sufferings which

large portions of the operative community have to endure; and the great difficulties with which they have to contend, even in obtaining the commonest necessities of life, and in procuring the education and training of their children; and the temptations and dangers to which they are, consequently, exposed.

Thirdly,—To remove the prejudices, to allay the apprehensions, and to engage the kindly offices of those who have formed unfavourable opinions of the masses, as persons who have imbibed what are considered extravagant opinions and unwarrantable desires, as to Politics, Religion, and Social Philosophy; and,

Finally,—To excite in the minds of all an earnest desire for the amelioration of the condition of the toiling classes, and a determination to employ the most rational means of securing their physical, intellectual, social, and moral elevation.

The aim of each writer must be to carry out these objects in a calm and dignified tone, apart from personal invectives, or abuse of individuals whom bad systems may have betrayed into oppressive acts. It will not avail to irritate wounds that are already too grievous to be borne: the wisest course will be to point out the means by which healing and soundness may be best effected.

The Editors of *THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND* will be assisted, in the selection of the best Sketch, Narrative, or Tale, by persons well acquainted with the peculiarities of each system.

The competitors for No. I. must send in their papers not later than August 14.

For No. II. September 1.

For No. IV., October 1.

For No. III., September 15.

For No. V., October 15.

And the remainder not later than November 15.

The papers must be addressed "To the Proprietor of The Working Man's Friend, 335, Strand, London." Each manuscript must be signed with some peculiar initial, accompanied with a sealed note containing the real name and address of the writer; no note will be opened except that of the successful competitor.

The unaccepted manuscripts will be returned to the writers; and the strictest impartiality will be observed in the adjudication.

Just Published, the FIRST and SECOND VOLUMES of
THE WORKING MAN'S FRIEND,
 AND
Family Instructor,

Price 1s. 6d. each, containing THIRTEEN WEEKLY NUMBERS, neatly bound in cloth.—This work abounds in valuable and interesting information, and is admirably adapted, as a gift or prize-book, for families or educational institutions.

MONTHLY PARTS are regularly published, price Sixpence, containing Four Weekly Numbers, besides the *Supplementary Number* for the Month, which is uniform in size and price with the Weekly Numbers, and is devoted entirely to communications from Working Men. As an encouragement to literary exertion on the part of the working classes, valuable books are awarded to those whose compositions are considered worthy of insertion. Four numbers have now been published, and have elicited the highest encomiums from all quarters, including several Members of Parliament.

JOHN CASSELL'S BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

There are Primers, Spelling Books, Grammars, and other helps to Elementary Education in abundance. There are also Libraries of Fairy Tales, Romances, and other works of Fiction, for the amusement of youthful readers, almost without end. But there are still wanting cheap, well-written books, adapted to the capacities of

children, and furnishing information as to Natural Objects, Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures. To supply this want, John Cassell proposes to issue

A NEW SERIES OF INSTRUCTIVE WORKS FOR CHILDREN;

To consist of *Twelve Books at Sixpence each*, in the form of catechisms or dialogues, divided into sections, and written in a style at once plain and familiar, interesting and instructive. The aim in this Series will be, by judicious condensation, to furnish for the youthful mind such a store of information as shall prove of avail in after-life, at the same time that it excites a spirit of laudable inquiry, and an eager thirst for the higher branches of intellectual, scientific, and moral truth.

It is believed that there are few parents, however humble their lot in life, but will feel pleasure in presenting to their children a copy of each of these books as they make their appearance in succession. For use in schools, whether public or private, they cannot fail to be acceptable. They will, also, be admirably adapted for presents, either as tokens of esteem or rewards for good behaviour.

The first of the Series will be ready by the 1st of August next, and will contain

ARTS AND MANUFACTURES. No. I.

THE HISTORY OF PAPER-MAKING, WRITING, PRINTING, AND BOOKS.
Each Number, or Book, will be complete in itself.

THE CHEAPEST WORKS OF STERLING VALUE EVER ISSUED FROM
THE PRESS.

JOHN CASSELL'S LIBRARY,

To be completed in Twenty-four Monthly Volumes, each Volume containing 144 pages, price SIXPENCE. Vols. FIRST and SECOND (the two in one) NOW READY, price ONE SHILLING; or, bound in cloth, ONE SHILLING AND FOURPENCE, entitled "SAILINGS OVER THE GLOBE;" comprising:—Rise and Progress of Navigation—Early Discoveries of the Portuguese—Voyages of Vasco de Gama, Mendez Pinto, and Magellan—Eastern Enterprises of the English, and First Circumnavigation of the Globe—The Four Voyages of Columbus—Cortez and the Conquest of Mexico—Pizarro and the Discovery of Peru—Voyages and Discoveries of Commodore Byron—Voyages and Discoveries of Captain Wallis—The Four Voyages and Discoveries of Captain Cook—Early Polar Expeditions—Recent Voyages and Discoveries of Scoresby, Parry, Ross, and Franklin.

Volume III. of the Series is also NOW PUBLISHED, entitled,

FOOTPRINTS OF TRAVELLERS.

Contents: Capel de Brooke's Travels in Norway, Sweden, and Lapland—Lyll's Travels in the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Georgia—Inglis's Travels in the Tyrol—Travels among the Tartars by the Ambassador of the Pope, and also by Zwick and Schill—Burnes's Travels in Bokhara—Heber's Travels in India.

Volume II. will be ready on the 1st of August.

NEW AND POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

To render this Library as perfect as possible, the Publisher has arranged with Dr. Ferguson, of Ryde, for bringing out a new HISTORY OF ENGLAND, to be comprised in THREE VOLUMES of the WORKING MAN'S LIBRARY. These, with a Volume

entitled "THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND'S GREATNESS," by the Rev. BENJAMIN PARSONS, Author of "Anti-Bacchus," "The Moral and Mental Dignity of Woman," &c. &c., will form *four single volumes, or two handsome double volumes*. Thus will be produced the cheapest and most complete HISTORY OF ENGLAND ever issued from the press.

In publishing these volumes the design will be, not only to exhibit a mere record of the actions of Kings, but also to present a more faithful and interesting history of the People, with their progress in industrial arts and social amelioration. The acknowledged talents and celebrity of the respective authors of these works will be a sufficient guarantee for the ability and excellence with which they will be prepared.

THE STANDARD OF FREEDOM.

JOHN CASSELL, PROPRIETOR.

The largest-sized Paper allowed by Law. Price 5d., or 5s. 5d. per Quarter.

Notwithstanding that the reputation of this Paper is completely established, the Proprietor has recently materially strengthened his Literary Staff, in order that the approval already given to its earnest and uncompromising advocacy of the great principles of Political, Commercial, and Religious Freedom, may continue to secure for it the extensive patronage it enjoys. It advocates the fullest Representation, Retrenchment, and Equalization of Taxation; devotes a due portion of its space to all that concerns questions of Morals and Philanthropy; and contains all that is necessary to render the Family Newspaper a source of lively entertainment and sound information.

To all classes of Advertisers the STANDARD OF FREEDOM offers a widely-extended medium, both in the Metropolis and the Provinces, the circulation being such as to place before an immense number of readers every Business Announcement that is inserted in its columns.

335, STRAND, LONDON.

THE FREEHOLDER.

The ORGAN of the FREEHOLDERS' UNION, is published on the first of every Month, price Fourpence, stamped.

"THE FREEHOLDER" is exclusively devoted to the extension of the County Franchise, and contains reports of the proceedings of all Freehold Land Societies, with an analysis of their rules, list of their officers, &c. It also gives plain and practical directions for qualifying and registering, so that individuals, whether members of Land Societies or otherwise, may know how to obtain a County Vote, how to have their names put upon the Register, and how to support, if necessary, their claims in the Revision Court.

Order of any Newsvender or Bookseller. Office, 335, Strand, London.

THE EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK.

PRICE FOURPENCE.

The circulation of this Almanack for the past and present year has been most extensive in all parts of the Kingdom. The EMIGRANT'S ALMANACK contains a greater mass of useful information on the important subject of Emigration than any other publication; and every possible care has been taken to ensure its entire accuracy. Every page abounds with practical hints for Emigrants of every degree, and altogether it forms one of the most interesting and valuable books of reference ever published on the subject of Emigration.

London: JOHN CASSELL, 335, Strand.

Green, Samuel G.,

The working classes of great britain their present condition, and the
means of their improvement and elevation

London [1850]

Brit. 234 g

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10476316-5